SOVIET EDUCATION

Its Psychology and Philosophy

MAURICE J. SHORE, PH.D.



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To
BEILA GELLER-SHORE
a sacrificing mother
during the Civil War in Russia
and
BETTINA
companion from East to West

Forethought

FOUR THOUSAND YEARS AGO a great leader broke the tablets, embodying a moral message to man, to ascend in solitude and contemplate on man. He died alone, having never seen the land of his dream. Two millenia thereafter another great teacher came upon the scene. For his message of love for man he died on the cross. Again, two thousand years have passed; and one hears the message new and anew. Now,—man, as never, is willing to learn. But the crimes of the past stand in the way of his education. Give him, then, education for the love of truth and mankind. Education is the weapon to make man kind to mankind.

Preface

PREFACE

THE substance of this work was conceived in 1937, while at Johns Hopkins University. The basic materials were, then, laid down for a work, "The Marxian Theory of Education."

The study took form and shape until swift moving events on the world scene shook the setting and the inner sinews of a dynamic subject whose field signs and vectors were not always predictable. As expected, new developments drew the author's attention to new "links" and directions and thus altered and enlarged the scope of the project. Some materials of the old work were discarded or shifted, while others were shortened or enlarged.

While World War II interrupted the necessary research, the author was fortunate though in obtaining new data which he injected into the body of his work. With the end of World War II, in 1945, new documentation was gradually secured to enrich old, and add new sections and chapters. Pains were taken to procure supporting evidence which was documented throughout the body of the work.

No work is the result of one man's thinking or efforts. In full recognition of this, acknowledgments are in order. The writer would like to express his deep gratitude to Dr. Florence E. Bamberger, of The Johns Hopkins Uni-

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Words of appreciation cannot express the debt which the author owes to Drs. George S. Counts, John L. Childs and I. L. Kandel of Columbia University for counsel and encouragement rendered while reading the basic skeleton of this work. A note of thanks is also due to Dr. Thomas Woody, of the University of Pennsylvania, for suggesting the directional lines underlying the preliminary research; and to Dr. Albert K. Weinberg, formerly of Johns Hopkins University and now with the United States Department of War.

If despite these scholarly counsels the work eventually took new turn and form, the author shoulders full responsibility for errors committed.

Numerous other individuals were consulted by the writer. Their number is too large to have them all listed here. There are, however, some whose names cannot be spared from being mentioned here. These are: Dr. V. Gsovski, Messrs. Ivan Dorosh, George Novoseltzeff, Nicholas R. Rodionoff, D.D. Tuneeff, of the Library of Congress; and the late Dr. Severyn K. Turosienski of the United States Office of Education. To all of them the author is indebted for counsel and courtesies. He takes special pleasure in expressing his gratitude to Dr. Dagobert D. Runes of the Philosophical Library for his interest and encouragement in bringing this work to completion.

For help and assistance in obtaining some materials, otherwise unobtainable, appreciation is hereby expressed to the Libraries, and their staffs, of The Johns Hopkins

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Last, but not least, the author is indebted to his wife who often resigned from many things precious to a woman and mother, to ease the research efforts of the writer.

M. J. S.

Washington, D. C.
March, 1947.

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Soviet Education: Its Psychology and Philosophy

Part 1

The Marxian Theory of Education

Introduction

INTRODUCTION

EXACTLY ONE HUNDRED YEARS (1847-1947) have passed since the *Manifesto* was written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Its publication (1848) signalized a call for revolutionary thinking and action in terms of Marxian historical materialism. Indeed, the year 1848 was momentous. It is rated by historians as a landmark of revolutions and social upheavals.

Herefrom, the Marxian school of thought has undergone a voluminous expansion, theoretical elaborations, doctrinaire variations and differences in outlook. First, in their writings, the founders—Marx and Engels—on the basis of observation of the prevailing social order, study of working conditions and intimate contacts with revolutionary forces solidified their thinking in writing and endowed it with, what is claimed, a scientific basis and structure. Later, their followers and disciples gave it further expansion in which the masters were subjected to a variety of interpretations.

It is reasonable to state that—together in combination—the masters presented a pattern of versatile mind, tireless spirit and genius at propaganda Their appeal, a re-

sult of laborious thinking, was to ideal social materail equalitarianism which found fermenting seeds in the hearts and minds of men, struggling for bare crumbs of bread in a dull and purposeless world. To them it pointed a way out from servitude and hunder to freedom and fulfilment.

The Marxist appeal, at the time, was based on grave facts. The deprivations of the working man were manifested in the flesh. These were easy to detect in his hazardous and breath consuming labor in the factory, in the mines, and the like, as well as in the exasperating poverty and moral degradation of his home and family life.

There was some liberal thinking among the intellectual *élite* prior to 1848. It was handicapped, however, by two impediments: organized social privilege and lack of thought among the general mass of the people. It was natural then that socialism should find its place and take a stand in the human drama. If one should concur with Wells, the word "socialism" first arose in 1835 in connection with Robert Owen's work. It cannot be denied, however, that it was Marx who gave it its modern version, drive and purpose. Heretofrom, from 1848 and on, the Marxian School of thought became a force to be reckoned with in any account of social thinking and action.

The old time device of scholars at classification and compartmentalization should be of aid here to present a compact picture of Marxist development, divided into four periods, as follows:

I. Doctrinaire Marxism, from 1844 to 1871, the year of the Paris Commune.
II. Active Marxism, from 1871 to 1918, the Russian October Revolution.
III. Unified or Synthetic Marxism, a unity of theory an dpractice, or Leninist Marxism, from 1918 to 1936, the year of the Soviet Constitution.

IV. Post-Leninism or Leninism-Stalinism, from 1936 to the present.

These periods are arbitrary. Within each of them are contained world events, themselves important signposts in history. To mention two only, of the twentieth century, there were within the last thirty years two global wars of tremendous repercussions and consequences There were other events, of no less significance, the discussion of which is beyond the scope of this work Hence, the demarcation of historical periods, on general lines, as given above.

With regard to the recent periods, one notes that Russia's military debacle in World War I brought to the fore the Russian Revolution, under Marxian leadership. World War II, resulting in the Allied—and Russian—victory, strengthened the Revolution and sustained the Soviet as a great power in the world's arena. This fact is of great importance. The Soviet, today, is the only great power, besides the United States, to exercise "independent" influence in world affairs. In the world of ideas the Soviet interposes a "statist collectivist economy" of a definite disquiet in a restless world. In this state of suspension education, other basic factors being favorable, is in a strategic position to move the pendulum toward peace and stability.

Will the years to come continue to sustain this situation? In this age of social revolution and unprecedented change events often move at a pace difficult to predict with a degree of exactitude. What social science can do, through observation and study, is to understand, explain and delineate anticipations or expectatives. In a democracy, statesmen should be ready to utilize such scientifically derived lessons and conclusions for deliberation, action and application. In fact, statesmen should be enabled, on the strength of findings from the social sciences,

including education, to supply optimum answers to the vexing problems of the day. Moreover, education is in position to translate the answers in a language, way and manner understandable to all. It behooves, therefore, the American scientists, among other things, to study and know thoroughly as many phases of the Soviet as possible. To say that Soviet education should be of interest to the American social scientist and educator may be indeed construed as an understatement. It is education, and only education, which can span distances—physical, ideational and ideological—and create bridges of understanding. Education is the process which operates and molds man's thinking, the springboard of his activity. Education has a way of crossing man made boundaries, without being labeled as trespasser. Education can enhance intercommunication on a scale and pace which few other means can do. That the Soviet fully appreciate and utilize these prerogatives of education will be brought out in the chapters to follow. Here is a chance, challenge and opportunity then for American education to "intervene". However, American education can meet this situation best if and when it is backed by a just social, racial and economic democracy at home. It is interesting to note that the Advisory Commission on Universal Training in its report to President Truman, while discussing the eighth "essentials" of the security program, considered a "strong physically healthy, economically prosperous, well educated and united population our number one security requirement."*

But range and time are crucial factors. One ventures to state that the next decade or so will become the crucial years in man's history. The destiny of man, his culture and civilization, nay his life, are now at stake.

* *New York Times*, June 2, 1947.

To the extent that man will understand himself—the powers within him, the forces he unleashed and those he will continue to unfold—to that degree he will be able to create a *modus vivendi* with his fellow human beings on this planet and, perhaps, live to evolve the Good Society.

Granted that economics, in the present social form, is the basic molding factor of man and his interrelationships, man nevertheless has shown, throughout history, a remarkable capacity to create new and mold, to his own taste, many aspects of his social and political economy. Alas, he has also demonstrated (too true!) a perversive talent to turn back the clock of history and retard, for some length of time, social advancement and progress.

Assuming that the ideas of the average individual are actually generated by the prevailing social order there were, and still are, thinking men imbued with ideas beyond their time, and working for the new. Slow as human progress is, many a proposed social reform and sequent program for social betterment were usually accepted and incorporated by society in the end. Pragmatically, in the future, that social order will survive and become really acceptable to man which will bring him more happiness and security.

However, no change or new acceptance come haphazard. Man, in distinction from other living animals is credited as a creature capable of generating, selecting, retaining and elaborating ideas. These, when shaped into ideologies, become powerful weapons for *status quo* or change. For better or for worse, ideologies adapted by man determine, to a larger extent than generally accepted, the society of tomorrow.

The importance of ideas and, for the same *raison d'etre*, ideologies cannot be overestimated if the true interrelationships between ideas an dsocial practice is fully

understood by students of society. Social practice is the pragmatic sanction of human interrelations which vary depending on the degree of development, and evolutionary historical phase of a group's economy and culture.

Social practice, then, is not only a portrayal of man's life. It is cultuer and ecenomics expressed in action. This action was conditioned by developmental ideas which on their side were originally unfolded by the social and economic structure and its effects upon man.

Education, which is a process of life, must take cognizance of this. It *must* comprehend social practice of a given society and interpret its meaning. It is the duty of education to approve of what is good in the social structure and practice, and point the way to corrections and improvements, if and when need be.

By implication, in a democratic society, it behooves education to indicate and interpret the kind of social practice which would serve the common good. Indeed, it is only through education which is concerned longitudinally with *all* aspects of life that man can understand man, his interrelations and the potentialities of a Good Society.

Education, thus, is not only a weapon but life educated, enlightened and self-directive for the good of all. No longer can education be conceived as a means for the achievement of a—be it even educational—project. "Education could *prepare* for the future if it were a waiting, separate and detached entity not rooted in the present. One could prepare for the present, were it not a continuous fleeting shadow hiding in the past. Education, however, understood as an expression of life, past, present and future, urges the necessity of understanding the origin and destiny of that assiduous process of life, gushing with activity and permeated with struggle and strife.

It is the understanding of life which is education."*

A real appreciation of democracy can be brought about by education flowing from such conception. In recent educational experiment characterized as "a new orientation for public education" a student group in a small rural high school, after four and one-half months of deliberation and study "agreed strongly to the superiority of democracy over fascism by the test of maximum want-fulfilment. It did not agree that communism and fascism are 'twin evils.' A majority of students grasped the conception that socialism and communism belong in the libertarian stream of democratic thought."**

Today, in many circles, there is much questioning of the latter conclusion. An answer to this query is important and of great concern to educators, teachers and social scientists. There is need for dispassionate and unprejudiced study to be based not on personal impressions from travelling visits or comittments *a priori*, but on thorough search and examination of materials and documents pertaining to the question. Perhaps, it would be best to have the actors, in this case statesmen, philosophers and educators, play and act their roles in the educational arena. It might be best to have them state their views, latitudinally and longitudinally, and observe them implement their commitments. As their ideas will constitute part and parcel of a definite ideology, expressive of the social-economic structure and world wide political configurations, it might be proper to precede each movement with a discussion of particular backgrounds or to provide, where necessary, the general setting in order to enhance unity and comprehension.

Indeed, the nature and need of the problem situation

* Maurice J. Shore, "Marxian Thought and Education", *The Educational Forum*, Nov 1940, P 45.

** Theodore Brameld, *Design for America*, 1945, P 105

will require a broad and intensive examination of materials hitherto neglected or thought of as unrelated to the issue. The following pages will aim to present the story and nature of an educational process about a hundred years old in development. It is remarkable that this education which had its beginning on English soil shifted later to France and Germany, to be finally transplanted and take deep roots in Russia. However, before this story, with its dynamic development, will be unfolded a general presentation of Marxian tenets and their interconnection with ensuing educational principles will be first in order.

Chapter One

THE MARXIAN FOUNDATIONS AND EDUCATION

Materialism and Education

EVERY educational theory is based on certain fundamental principles or basic assumptions derived from a particular social, economic and political philosophy.

Thus, a Marxist theory of education would result from a Marxian social, economic and political philosophy. It seems fit, therefore, to present, at the beginning, the basic principles or doctrines of that philosophy on which the Marxian theory of education has built its foundation and to indicate, in general terms, the lines along which this theory of education must develop.

The roots of Marx's first principle are to be found in Ludwig Feuerbach, whom Lange considered to be the father of modern materialism.[1]* Feuerbach epitomized the principle of materialistic monism[2] as "Der Mensch *ist* was er *isst***." The capacity of experiencing sensations, or susceptibility to pleasure, pain, and emotions Feuerbach

* Numbers in the text refer to the notes to be found in the back of this book under section, *Notes on Chapters.*

** "Man *is* what he *eats*"

considered to be that reality which makes man what he is. "Truth, reality, sensibility are identical. Only a sensible being is a true, a real being. Only sensibility is truth and reality . . . True and divine is only what needs no demonstration, what is immediately certain of itself . . . Only where sensibility begins does all doubt and controversy cease."[3]

Feuerbach's materialism was, however, too solipsistic for Marx.[4] Feuerbach's fundamental emphasis was on self-consciousness, feeling, and the sensuous personality of man.[5] Marx, in his famous *Theses on Feuerbach,* gave his social interpretation of modern materialism as follows: "All social life is essentially practical . . . The highest reached by observational materialism is the consideration of the individuals and civil society. The position of old materialism is civil society, the viewpoint of the new is the human society or the social humanity."[6]

Engels accused Feuerbach of divorcing man from the pervasive problems of actual society. He claimed that Feuerbach's materialism had "absolutely nothing to do with the world in which this man lives,"[7] Marxism goes beyond Feuerbach in insisting that materialism must deal also with the social reality.

Education is a social process, and is a part of that social reality with which materialism deals. This study will attempt to indicate, among other things, the relationship between materialism and education and the extent to which the latter is conditioned and shaped by Marx's first principle—social materialism.

Historical Materialism and Education

The philosophy upon which Marxism is built is the materialist conception of history, or historical material-

ism. This conception, initiated by Marx about 1844,[8] and worked out in 1845,[9] was first formulated in 1847 in his *Poverty of Philosophy*[10]. ". . . The economist has clearly understood that men make cloth, linen, silk stuff, in certain determined relations of production. But what he has not understood is that these determined social relations are as much produced by men as are the cloth, the linen, etc. The social relations are intimately attached to the productive forces. In acquiring new productive forces men change their mode of production, and in changing their mode of production, their manner of gaining a living, they change all their social relations. The windmill gives you society with the feudal lord, the steam-mill, society with the industrial capitalist. The same men who establish social relations conformally with their material productivity, produce also the principles, the ideas, the categories, conformably with their social relations."[11].

From this Marx developed the thesis of the temporal character of these ideas and called the relations which they express "historical and transitory products." Again in the *Manifesto*,[12] written in 1847 and published in German in London in 1848, one discerns the language of historical materialism: "Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views, and conception, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life."[13]

In 1888 Engels, in his preface to the *Manifesto*, signalized historical materialism as Marx's fundamental proposition. "That proposition is: That in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which it is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch."[14]

In *Wage-Labor and Capital,* written in 1847, Marx gave a clear-cut expression of historical materialism: "The relations of production collectively form those social relations which we call a society, and a society with a definite degree of historical development, a society with an appropriate and distinctive character. Ancient society, feudal society, bourgeois society are instances of these sums-total of the relations of production, each of which also marks out an important step in the historical development of mankind."[15]

Finally, in the preface to his *Critique of Political Economy,* written in 1850, Marx elucidated his theory of historical materialism in full: "In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The sum-total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation, on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political, spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determine their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or—what is but a legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations within which they had been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters. Then comes the period of the social revolution. . . The bourgeois relations of production are the last antagonistic form of the social process of production

. . . This social formation constitutes, therefore, the closing chapter of the prehistoric stage of human society."[16]

According to this theory, the modes of production are what determine not only the productive relations, but the entire social organization. It claims, also, that all social changes depend upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are exchanged. Social changes "are to be sought not in the philosophy, but in the economics of each particular epoch."[17]

If the modes of production determine the entire social organization, education, as an expression of the latter, must also be affected by the same modes of production. If, as Marxism claims, the intellectual history of man is to be explained through "historical materialism," then the story of education in each historical epoch should be told in terms of the material changes and changing social relations of each epoch.

The "Materialized" Dialectics and Education

In his *Poverty of Philosophy,* Marx commented: "If the Englishman transforms men into hats, the German transforms hats into ideas. The Englishman is Ricardo, a rich banker and distinguished economist; the German is Hegel, a simple professor of philosophy at the Berlin University."[18]

It was the German philosopher Hegel who postulated the Idea as the true reality and assigned to matter a secondary position. Matter to Hegel was only an expression, a fleeting shadow, of the Absolute or the Idea.

Moreover, according to Hegel, this reality—the Idea—in order to define itself, passes through a dialectical struggle best explained in a philosophic triad. All manifestations around man are subject to the dialectical pro-

cess; only the Absolute Idea which is free from contradiction is excepted. The following is an example of Hegelian dialectics:

Thesis: Pure BEING makes the beginning because it is on one hand pure thought, and on the other immediacy itself, simple and indeterminate; and the first beginning cannot be mediated by anything, or be further determined.

Antithesis: But this mere Being, as it is mere abstraction, is therefore the absolutely negative; which, in a similarly immediate aspect, is just NOTHING.

Synthesis: Nothing, if it be thus immediate and equal to itself, is also conversely the same as Being is. The truth of Being and of Nothing is accordingly the unity of the two: and this unity is BECOMING.[19].

Applying the dialectic method to the world of reality, in his case the political sphere of human relationships, "Hegel posits the individual as the fundamental idea whose negation is civic society conceived as inconsistent with the individual. The institution effecting the conciliation or synthesis of the contradictory ideas of individual and civic society is the State representing Society as a political as distinguished from a civic organization."[20] Thus, the dialectical triad is: man—thesis, civic society—antithesis, state—synthesis.

Marx and Engels were the first to see the value of Hegel's dialectic method in the formulation of scientific socialism. They incorporated the dialectic as the most important element in their historic materialism: "The

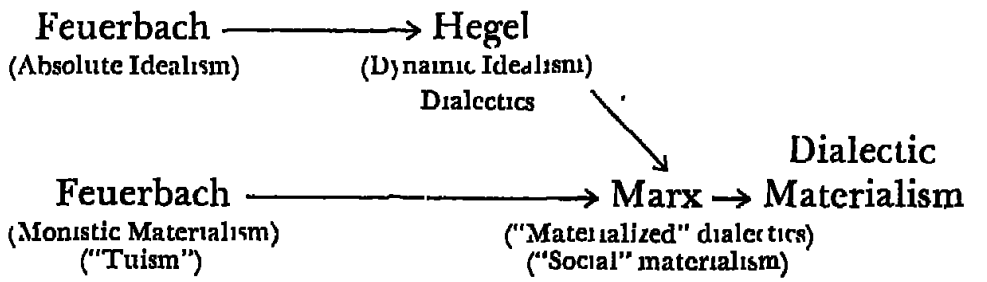
new German philosophy culminated in the Hegelian system. In this system—and herein lies its great merit—for the first time the whole world, natural, historical, intellectual, is represented as a process, i.e. as in constant motion, change, transformation, development, and the attempt is made to trace out the internal connection that makes a continuous whole of all this movement and development."[21]

Marx and Engels always declared themselves Hegel's disciples. They insisted, however, that they put Hegel's system "on its feet."[22] To Hegel, they argued, the abstract, or the Idea, was the reality, and matter only a form of expression of the Idea; and it is at this point, Marx claimed, that Hegel erred. According to Marx, matter is the reality and the idea is only a mental translation of matter.

But Hegel's merit also consisted in that he turned Absolute Idealism into Dynamic Idealism. Marx and Engels first interpreted Hegel through Feuerbach and on this they built a "materialist" dialectic of their own. The following figure represents the development:

FIGURE I

Materialized Dialectics



Witness Marx's statement on his use of Hegel's Dynamic Idealism. "My own dialectical method is not only fundamentally different from the Hegelian dialectical method, but is its direct opposite. For Hegel the thought

process (which he actually transforms into an independent object, giving to it the name of "Idea") is the demiurge [creator] of the real, and for him the real is only the outward manifestation of the idea. In my view, on the other hand, the ideal is nothing other than the material when it has been transposed and translated inside the human head."[23]

To Hegel, dialectics is the formula of progress, i.e. the law of evolution in human history. It is this combination of dialectics with materialism which, according to Marx, becomes the prime mover of history. "Modern materialism is essentially dialectic," declared Engels, and dialectic materialism claims to be "the law of evolution in human history."[24] When this theory is appplied to private property and to the state, private property logically becomes the thesis, the proletariat the antithesis, and the abolition of private property, the synthesis; or thesis—capitalist state, antithesis—proletarian state, and synthesis—statelessness.

Thus, Hegel's highest synthesis in the sphere of political thinking was taken up by Marx and it became the departing point for his new political philosophy. His was a philosophy of antistatism. The State to Marx was not a happy culmination of noble human endeavors. On the contrary, what preceded the political State—the pre-state, primitive society—was historically man's paradise. But if modern civilization made a return to this State improbable and undesirable, a certain form of social living which should continue the progressive side of man's civilization and be free, simultaneously, from the shackles of the political State was not only desirable but most necessary in order to achieve human happiness. Hence Hegel's synthesis—the prevailing State—became to Marx the thesis, opposed by an antithesis—a State of a contradictory, *proletarian* character,—the struggle between these

two contradictory States to culminate in Statelessness, the Marxian synthesis.

The Marxian materialist conception of history or historic materialism or dialectical materialism is the center of the Marxian theory. This Marxian doctrine is offered not only to explain and to interpret social evolution, but also as a formula for forecasting future conflicts, changes, and dynamic social revolutions.

Through this law of dialectical materialism, Marxism predicted the "must," the unavoidable of the future; the collapse of the economic, social, and political system. When this collapse, followed by the transfer of the productive forces to the proletariat, occurs, Marxism will prepare the new society, and a classless community will eventuate. It is true that at this point of achievement Marxism stops short of projection; it insists, however, that albeit it is difficult to predict detailedly and definitely the further developments of this higher stage of Communism, its growth and progress will follow the iron law of dialectics.

It follows that the history of society, because of the dialectic law ruling its material basis, will be governed by that law. Education, as a social process in society, must also move and change in accordance with "materialized" dialectics.

Class-dominating State and Education

Another integral element of Marx's historical and dialectical materialism is the theory of the class struggle. It has been noted that the dialectic formula contains the idea of struggle. In the interpretation of world history, Marx applied the formula of dialectic materialism first to economic conflicts, later to social conflicts, thus arriving at the doctirne of class struggle.[25]

One may certainly question the validity of this Marxian interpretation of history. But one may also doubt, on examination, any intellectual orientation in an historical problem. History has been called a "convenient blend of truth and fancy, of what we commonly distinguish as 'fact' and interpretation'."[26] The historian labors first to secure the actual facts and afterwards he attempts to secure their meaning. Furthermore, in relating these facts the historian interprets them from his own frame of reference. But it is exactly for these reasons that "not only philosophers but practicing historians have become skeptical of the claims that history yields objective knowledge of the fact."[27] Marx treated history as every historical philosopher does. He made, first, an intensive study of historical facts. Second, in determining the meaning of those facts he could not avoid interpreting them from his own frame of reference. From the viewpoint of historiography, Marx in selecting a synthetic procedure would have met the difficulties presented by so-called "historical relativism."[28]

The following is a short presentation of Marx's theory of the State and its relation to education. The opening sentence of the *Manifesto* proclaims that "history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle."[29] He believes this to be true of modern society also. "Society as a whole is more and more splitting into two great hostile camps, with two great classes directly facing each other—bourgeoisie and proletariat."[30]

It is this conception which leads to the class-domination theory of the state. The state is an organized machine for the protection of the ruling class. To control the oppressed and dispossessed, to suppress class-conflicts, is the Marxian view of the function of the capitalist state. Only a society based upon class antagonism, therefore, has need of the state. The state serves only one purpose, that is, to

subjugate the exploited class and keep it always suppressed.[81]

Marxism sees no hope for the diminution of this class struggle in democracies. The Marxian believes that even in a democratic republic, with universal suffrage, the possessing class will always control the masses. So long as the proletariat is not educated for emancipation, the majority will consider the state as its protector, and will therefore endure class inequality. The class state is a device to perpetuate class inequality. As the *Manifesto* points out, this was so in the past, in the days of slavery, in the feudal age of land-owner and serf, and so it is today. Each stage is different, but the process is the same and will be the same until the date of the last revolution. Then the class struggle will end, and the era of liberation will arrive.

What will terminate the class-dominating state? How will the revolution be brought about? The answer is concise: economic determination. The principle of capitalism is profit-making through hiring of labor. Labor is an economic power that produces more than it costs. It produces, in so many working hours, its cost, i.e. the exchange value of its subsistence. This is the price the capitalist pays for it. The capitalist receives also "surplus value," an increment or excess over the original value which is realized from surplus or unpaid labor.[32] Marx's contribution, besides his much disputed economic theory, is his postulation of a theory of economic cause and social effect. Economic causes created the feudal state, the capitalist state, and the like. The economic determinant will create also, as it has done in Russia, the proletariat state. This state, in becoming a one-class community, is in a sense classless. In its further evolution, the modes of production and the social relations will become entirely classless. Then, with no one to oppress, there will be no

need for the state. It will "wither away."

In Marxian theory, the state, as an "instrument of a given class," is interested in providing the kind of education which should help that class to stay in power and rule the others. According to Marx this holds true for education in any state. It follows that a real, non-subservient education can be realized in a stateless society only.

The Will to Change and Education

"In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will."[33] Thus one sees how the role of human volition in social relations was belittled by Marx. The economic determinant controls history, in the evolution of which men have no choice. But this is not the complete picture, for in another place Marx said that "men make their own history, but not just as they please. They do not choose the circumstances for themselves, but have to work upon circumstances as they find them, have to fashion the material handed down by the past.[34]

Thus, it is implied that social changes do not occur at the mere will of leaders or of society. To have changes, society has to be made ready for them by the determinant, the modes of production. These material modes of production cause pertinent social relations. These social relations come in conflict with the existing modes of production. The conflict expresses itself in a revolution, independent of human will.

Then, when the stage is ready, the will is of importance as an immediate cause for a revolutionary change. The conflict between modes of production and relations of production is the ultimate cause, *causa remota;* the will is the imperative and immediate cause of change, *causa*

proxima. At a certain point in historical development the inevitability and necessity of change becomes obvious. Free, but limited by the objective material conditions, the will then plays its part.

From the point of view of Marxian educational theory, the consideration of the will in the social process is of no little importance. When facts are made known and understood, there is a better opportunity for an intelligent decision. Conditioned by the ultimate cause, the will then becomes not only the immediate cause for a revolutionary change, but also its hastener.[35]

While Marxism denies the importance of education as a prime mover in the social process, it nevertheless attributes to it some value of independent character.[36] If changes occurred only due to the objective forces independent of the human will, education would have to resign from any purposive planning or action. Education, then, would have to bow fatalistically to every socio-economic stage in the historical process. But education, as "material . . . translated inside the human head," depends not only on the material basis, but also on the "human head" and the other qualities developed by man during his long evolution.

Chapter Two

THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE MARXIAN THEORY OF EDUCATION

Education—A Superstructure and Force on the Economic Base

THE French materialists of the Eighteenth century considered man as a product of his environmental circumstances and education. They maintained, therefore, that with a positive change of the above factors, i.e.—the reestablishment of man in his "natural rights" for freedom, equality, and education, there will emerge a "Kingdom of Reason" in whose domain inflicted humanity will finally find its happiness. Naturally, education was considered by the French materialists as a great political power capable to facilitate the achievement of that idealized intellectual social state.

This consideration, by the French materialists, of man as a result of environment and education, i.e. the ascribing of the product "man" exclusively to these two changing factors only, without including man's retroaction and the mutual change by him of his environment and education,—was strongly opposed by Marx.

Marxian materialism denies that man is a passive product of his environment and education, or that he is

changed passively as the result of new modes of education. Marxism claims to establish a new mutual relationship between environment and education on the one hand and man on the other.[37] The changing man changes the changing environment and the educational process that change him, and thereby becomes the changed man —a process *ad infinitum*. Man reacts consciously to the conditioning forces of environment and education, and he continuously changes them by his action which is revolutionary in character.

The changes in man which seem to coincide with changes in men's circumstances Marxism explains in terms of revolutionary practice. "The coincidence of change in circumstances and in human activity, or self change, can be conceived and rationally understood only as revolutionary practice."[38]

Marxism asserts that man's ideas and consciousness are interwoven with material activity and material relations. Even culture, as expressed in language, politics, laws, morals, and religion, is the resultant of the material interrelationships in human society. It is not the abstract, but the real, active man, conditioned by definite material productive forces, who produces ideas. "Consciousness cannot be anything else but conscious existence, and the existence of men is their real life process."[39] Or, again, "not consciousness defines life, but it is life which defines consciousness."[40]

In contradiction to that German philosophy, which "descends from heaven to earth," the Marxian philosophy attempts to ascend from earth to heaven.[41] In interpreting history, Marxism does not look for a categorical idea in each historic period; it does not explain experience as the outcome of an idea. On the contrary, it explains the formation of ideas as a product of material activity or practice (praxis). All forms and products of consciousness,

such as ideas, are resultants of praxis only, and can be uprooted only through a change in the actual material basis of social relations. Similarly, changes in education are not affected by mere criticism of the educational ideas under attack; revolution is the moving force of history—only revolution can affect changes. A revolutionary change in the material basis of societal living is the only potent force to bring educational changes.

Thus ideas are impotent to make fundamental changes in the course of historical development. The latter contains such materialistic actuality that a change in it could be affected only by material and actual revolutionary methods. It is true that men "deal with ideas" but the latter, according to Marxisms, are only convenient translations, some momentary others lasting, of that basic activity or production which men carry on to subsist and which makes history. This is a fundamental Marxism premise "that men must be in position to live, in order to be enabled to make history."[42]

To obtain the means for the satisfaction of needs, Marx said, was the "basic condition of all history which, as well as today,[43] had to be filled daily and hourly for thousands of years." In addition to this basic condition, Marx considered two more "moments" as all important: the appearance of new needs and the institution of the family. These "three sides of social activity," according to Marx, have conditioned historical development, and consequently education, which is an integral accompaniment of the former.

For example, primitive education, according to Marxism, displayed the following characteristics, which are of a materialistic nature.

Education was not systematic. It may even have taken place by chance or through accident; it was, however, always motivated by and resulted from man's actual at-

tempts to gain material means for living.

The method of education was always participation, acquiring the accumulated experience of the race and passing it on by practice to the younger generation. The imitation of and improvement upon craftsmanship and simple processes of labor in order to obtain the prime necessities are examples of this.

Education was interwoven with every phase of human activity in primitive man's struggle with the forces of nature—a struggle for existence. Man's observations on nature, the lessons he learned from them formed a significant part of what may be called his "educational store." The man better "educated" by this process became better fitted for the struggle to live and survive.

To be successful in this life-struggle, there were always certain needs to be satisfied, for which production was necessary. For both, the reasonable satisfaction of needs and production, education was most helpful and necessary. Moreover, man's prolonged infancy and the institution of the family brought into existence new needs to be satisfied. The production necessary for their satisfaction required new social adjustment and this new adjustment in turn often resulted in better education. Thus, these three elements of man's life—the continuous appearance of needs, production, and the institution of the family—became interwoven.

There remain to be considered the questions: When did political conditions begin to be attached to production? When did education begin to depend at all on politics? To what extent has this relationship existed? Marx distinguished primitive education from modern education as being entirely social, not political. Since private property did not exist in primitive society, there were no socially opposed classes and no social strife. In the absence of these there was no struggle for the possession of

the instruments of production.[44] There was no need to protect the sanctity of private property and, therefore, no need for the political state. In an apolitical society education was apolitical.

Finally, according to Marxism, education in primitive society, although apolitical, was a purposive process of the thinking man. Purposive education through labor, forced by the struggle to live, made its appearance in advance of the political, religious, or other ideological "superstructures." Consequently, education in primitive society did not depend on politics. To summarize, education in primitive society was an apolitical conscious, purposive process forged and enriched by the human impulse and desire to subsist, a materialistic *élan vital*.

With the later development of society — with the appearance of private property, concentration and appropriation of the modes of production—there occurred a break in the peaceful and simple social relationships. With the material relations of men thus becoming more complex, there came a corresponding change in social life. In addition to the forces of nature, other forces came to be influential in post-primitive societies. To justify economic oppression, politico-religious "superstructures" were called in to its aid by the ruling class. Education, then, became the handmaiden of politics. Every political change following an economic change had its effect on education. The very nature of the educational process began to be directly dependent on the economic, and hence political, conditions of each historical epoch.

Education came to depend not only on political conditions but on the "ruling idea of the ruling class," which Marx held to be dominant in every historical epoch. "The class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force."[45] The ruling class, in control of the modes of material production, pos-

sesses also the modes of intellectual immaterial production and is in position to submerge the thoughts and ideas of the ruled non-possessing classes. "The class which has appropriated the means of material production controls thereby, as well, the means of intellectual production so that, as a rule, the ideas of the latter are in service of those who supply the [material] means for intellectual production. The ruling ideas are nothing else than ideational expression of the ruling material relations; ideas of framed ruling productive relations; therefore, of relations in which the ruling class has also its ideas as ruling."[46]

Thus, according to Marx, all prevailing ideas in a given historical period are the expression of those relations which the ruling class sets up.[47] It is natural that the prevailing ideas of a given epoch should permeate every "ideal plane," education included.[48]

The prevailing ideas of a strong ruling class are not necessarily limited to one place or country. Because of new economic developments the ruling ideas permeate many lands where by various methods they are propagated among the people. With the development of world-markets and their exploitation by international capital, narrow national production and consumption became internationalized and cosmopolitan in character. National branches of industry gave place to international branches in various lands and climates. The interchange of raw materials and manufactured products between far-away lands brought many nations together, dealing a fatal blow to localism and national isolation. As a result of these transformations in material productive forces, corresponding changes began to take place in culture and intellectual production. "What else does the history of ideas prove, than that intellectual production changes its character in proportion as material production is

changed. In place of the old local and national seclusion, and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations and as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National onesidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literature there arises a world literature."[49]

The development of intercommunication made the educational achievements of one nation the possession of many nations. It was, however, an education of the ruling capitalist order. To make its ideas popular, or, in Marxian language, to control society by means of the "ideal expression of the material productive relations", the ruling class organized schools through which it committed an act of "intervention." The ruling class began to indoctrinate the young in its ideology.

Marxism claims that there was intervention by the ruling class in each epoch. The Communists did not invent intervention; they seek to socialize the modes of production and, after that, to alter the character of intervention. "But, you will say, we destroy the most hallowed of relations, when we replace home education by social. And your bourgeois education! Is not that also social, and determined by the social conditions under which you educate, by the intervention of society, direct or indirect, by means of schools, etc.? The Communists have not invented the intervention of society in education; they do but seek to alter the character of that intervention, and to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class."[50]

Thus, according to Marxism, education depends on the economics, politics, and culture of a given historical epoch. In any historical epoch, the modes of material pro-

duction produce the social relations. The ideal expression of these relations favorable to the ruling class is taught in the class-controlled schools. The ruling class through "intervention" in the educational agencies, indoctrinates the people at large with its class-ideas. The communist society, however, by appropriating the modes of material production, changes the social relations. Educationally, the young are indoctrinated with the new "ideal expression," which, in a classless society, loses its class character. The modes of production are classless; the social relations produced by the new modes of production become also classless; hence, ideas and understandings are devoid of any class character; they express the ideology of a classless community (*Gemeinschaft*), and as such, in terms of operation, they permeate the school. "The thesis that the rule of a given class is really the rule of given set of ideas ceases to hold when class rule, in general, ceases to be the form of any social order; when it becomes unnecessary to represent separate interests as general or to exhibit the "general" as ruling."[51]

In a classless society there is no need to represent the particular interests of a given class as "general" or to present this so-called "general" interest as the absolute law. Because of the new economics, politics, and culture, education becomes an instrument for the classless community's all-around improvement, the ascending social evolution of which is limitless.

Thus, according to Marx, economics is the basis from which man's ideas spring. Persistently Marxism teaches that economic factors condition every historical development. In insisting that all works of philosophy, politics, law, religion, literature, art, and education depend on the causational factor—economics—Marxism formulated its law of historical development: "According to this law, all historical struggles, although they seem to take place on

the political, religious, philosophical, or any other ideal plane, are, in reality, nothing else than the more or less clear expression of struggles between social classes."[52]

It seems, therefore, that to Marxism, education by itself, without a change in the material basis of social relations, is impotent to change society. Yet Marxism seems willing to concede an influence of the arts and sciences on economics: "Political, juridical, philosophical, religious, literary, artistic, etc., development is based on economic development. But all these react upon one another and also upon the economic base."[53]

The role of education in society is explicit. Instead of being and remaining only an ideal expression of productive relations, education becomes an active force, itself to a certain extent shaping the "foundation"—economics.[54] "What we call *ideological conception* [ideologische Anschauung] reacts in its turn upon the economic basis and may, within certain limits, modify [the economic basis]."[55]

This is another concession to the importance of education. To be sure, the force of education is conditioned by the prevailing modes of production. "Within certain limits," however, education can change the economic foundation and so contribute dialectically[56] to the evolution of a new society.

Undoubtedly, another commitment of Engels on the same point adds strength and force to the above contention. "The economic situation is the basis, but various elements of the superstructure are in many cases influential upon the causes of historical struggle; these elements are: the political forms of the class war and its results, the constitution established by the victorious class after its victory, etc., legal forms, and then even the reflexes of these actual struggles in the minds of the participants, i.e., the political, juridical and philosophical

theories, religious ideas and their further development into the system of dogma."[57]

Education then *is* a force of tremendous significance potent to change the nature and character of the historical struggle. The mind of man is accepted by Marxism as an active principle not only reacting to the stimuli of the economic basis, but as a productive power capable "in many cases" of redirecting the development of the economics of society.

Capitalism: Economic Contradictions and Their Effects on Education

Marx and Engels severely criticized the education of their time, especially for its failure to provide the right, or any kind of, education for the laborer. The evils in education, just as the socio-economic injustices, they traced to their source—the capitalist system. To Marx and Engels the contradictions in education under capitalism are the expression of the contradiction inherent in capitalist society, which can be formulated as the growth of social production versus capitalistic appropriation.[58] The implications therefore for education are manifold.

First, consider the general contradiction between city and country, which, according to Marxism, began with the transition from barbarism to civilization, grew with the shift from "localism" to "nation," and continued through history up to the present. "The greatest separation between physical and intellectual labor is the divorce between city and country. The contradiction between city and country began with the transition from barbarism to civilization."[59]

With the origin of the city is associated the necessity of administration, police, taxes. The city, because of large

concentration of population, initiated politics. For the first time, because of the division of labor and new modes of production, the population was split into two large classes. The city presented a concentration of population, of instruments of production, and of capital with problems of supply and demand, while the agricultural country presented a picture of isolation and dismemberment.[60] The economic system in the city turned large classes of the industrial population into automats, while it made the isolated agricultural country dependent economically upon the city.

In education, the ruling class was so preoccupied in justifying and effecting the submission of the population of the great centres that it did not have time to spread its efforts to the depopulated rural areas. In the city, education, true to its objective, transformed men into submissive "limited city-animals,"[61] while in the country, left to its isolation, lack of educational facilities transformed the villagers into ignorant "village animals." One kind of unity, however, remained between city and country, and only one: namely, that inhabitants of both were turned into animals, serving the capitalist system. In the city, efforts were made to "educate" labor in conformity with prevailing social relations and, as will be seen later, for the purpose of greater economic production. The village was less important at this stage of capitalist development than the city, and the necessity for its indoctrination was less urgent. The ruling class, being in possession of the educational means, not only had not the need, but it lacked also the strength to spread to the village its particular class ideas. The village, due to its lack of concentration of labor population and instruments of production, was left to itself. Hence the contradiction between city and country grew to be not only economic but also educational.

In the Marxian view, another factor accentuated the contradictions in capitalist society, namely, division of labor. This factor, as will be shown, initiated and developed two defects: general ignorance and specialization in both physical and intellectual labor. Division of labor in factories, albeit resulting in more and cheaper goods accessible to a greater number, forced the worker to carry on narrowly specialized, monotonous tasks. Growth in numbers of the proletariat, and long hours of labor required in the interest of production for more "money making,"[62] deprived large masses of workers of educational opportunities. Education remained open, therefore, to the few or to members of a group specially favored by the ruling class, who became intellectual specialists. In physical labor, undue specialization in a minute meaningless activity resulted in the sheer ignorance and mental deterioration of the masses. Meanwhile, specialization in intellectual labor resulted in the formation of a separate intellectual class. The result was a separation between intellectual and physical labor. This separation has produced an intellectual class devoted to "pure" theory in theology, philosophy, and the like, divorced from experience and practice. Separated from practical life and from acquaintance with the actual processes of production, the conscience of the intellectuals began to function differently. They began to think that consciousness, ideas, representations are quite different from practice *(praxis)*. They thought, according to Marx, that "consciousness is capable of emancipating itself from the world of things and that herefrom it can devote itself to 'pure' theory, theology, philosophy, morals, and the like."[63]

Division of labor, undue specialization, separation of intellectual from physical labor, produced a band of specialists who, intellectually, formed a distinct privileged class. In a sense this class became the intellectual appro-

priators, as the class in control of the modes of production became the capitalist appropriators.

To this Marxian contention an objection may be raised: Did the intellectual group really appropriate intellectual production? This seems improbable. "Εχω οὐκ ἔχομαι (I own but am not owned). One can own anything unconditionally only if one is not owned. According to Marxism, the real appropriators of "all" are the capitalists. They own and control all modes of production, the intellectual included. A consistent Marxian should, therefore, trace the ownership and control of intellectual production direct to the masters—the capitalists. If they own *all,* they own the intellectuals, who therefore cannot be appropriators of intellectual production.

According to Marxism, specialization under capitalism has also left its stamp on art. Throughout history, the artist has been conditioned, artistically, by the existing modes of production, by the social organization, by the previous developments in art, by the prevailing division of labor, and the like. "Raphael, as well as any other artist, was conditioned by the technical advancement in the arts, which took place before his time as well as the societal organization and division of labor in other lands with which his locality was in communication."[64]

As far as education is concerned, the division of labor is responsible for the development of excessive talent in a single individual, and the suppression of such talent among groups. Thus, undue narrow specialization in artistic production subdivides the artists into sculptors, painters, etc., a further educational limitation imposed by capitalistic modes of production, with its division of labor.[65] Such specialization is responsible for the lack of integral education under capitalism. Only when specialization ceases all integral education become possible. ". . . But from the moment that all special development

ceases, the need of universality, the tendency toward an integral development of the individual begins to make itself felt."[66]

Moreover, to the Marxist, division of labor and specialization in the interests of greater production only, has made the worker become a part of the machine. To increase production, not only the machine but also its appendage, the worker, had to be harnessed and driven. Modern machinery has taken every pleasurable element out of work. Work has lost its wholeness and independence for the workers. In producing, the worker under capitalism need not have to use his mental capacity or his native skill. Denied a direct education, he was also divorced from indirect meaningful education, which was available before the introduction of the modern machine. The goal of a worker's education became to train him as an appendage to the machine. In terms of education, such a part in the productive process produces depressing effects on body and mind. "While labor at the machine has a most depressing effect upon the nervous system, it at the same time hinders the multiform activity of the muscles, and prohibits free bodily and mental activity."[67]

Marx was tireless in criticising the evils of the industrial system of the nineteenth century. Among the many destructive resultants of the system, he called special attention to the general ignorance of the masses. He stressed the reciprocal relation which existed between capitalist industry and ignorance. The system of production under the capitalist machine age "intensifies the spread of ignorance and the latter is the mother of industry." "Ignorance is the mother of industry as well as of superstition. Reflection and fancy are subject to err. Manufacturers, accordingly, prosper most where the mind is least consulted."[68]

In support of his view that the division of labor de-

grades native intelligence and retards the natural development of mental capacity, Marx quoted Adam Smith, who, although he "makes it a point of honor to praise the division of labor,"[69] saw its evil effects upon human intelligence. "The understandings of the greater part of men are necessarily formed by their ordinary employments. The man whose life is spent in performing few simple operations . . . has no occasion to exert his understanding . . . he generally becomes as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become."[70] Smith, as Marx pointed out, therefore recommended state-education, but warned that it is to be carefully administered.[71]

It seems that Marx and Smith are in agreement that the division of labor has reacted negatively upon human intelligence, and consequently upon education. Division of labor accounts, on one side, for the many minute, educationally meaningless activities found in the modern factories, where workers have no need to "exert their understanding." The workers are not only denied formal education but lose also the educational benefits arising from participation in purposeful and meaningful activity. Both Marx and Smith stated that the educational effects of the division of labor are disastrous. They differed, however, on the method of correction. Smith was not in favor of prevention or complete reform. He was for alleviation and appeasement, for the administering of education in "homeopatic doses." He saw no great benefit which the state would achieve by a broad educational undertaking.[72] Smith was for education of labor only on the grounds of utility and the stability of the state. Those were the views of a classical economist on education for the "inferior ranks."

Another form of education for the workers was proposed by the philanthropic economists. They would edu-

cate the workers in various branches of the industry to enable them, in case of a new technical invention or new division of labor, to find new jobs in the organized industry. Marx considered such proposals as charitable, unconstructive, and certainly non-educational.[73]

Socialized Base Prerequisite for Real Education

In contrast to the philanthropic and other economists, Marx believed that there is no relationship between a better education for workers, in existing society, and their earning wage. In other words, he taught that in existing society a better education will not necessarily increase a worker's earning capacity.[74] In addition, he argued that every educational provision for the worker by the ruling class is aimed at the indoctrination of the ideas of the status quo.[75] It was evident to Marx that the educational measures proposed by the philanthropic economists were also aimed at an appeasement of the inherent contradictions and not at a complete solution of the problem.

Marxism does not plead for temporary cure or transitory remedy. The Marxist insists on a completely social reconstruction. A complete socialized living, claims Marxism, is a complete education. In *Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft,* Engels elaborated the reconciliation of division of labor and an all-aided education. With the socialization of the modes of production and socialized planning, men will enslave the machine. Society becomes the mistress of production and frees its individual members. The old division of labor disappears. Everyone does his part conscious of the whole. What is produced is not merely for the purpose of producing more, and for the benefit of individual appropriators. Production is transformed into a social activity. Under socialized

conditions, society sees that each individual member performs that part for which he is most capable, physically and mentally. Duty is thus transformed into pleasure. "The old modes of production must be basically revolutionized, and so must the old division of labor disappear. It must be replaced by an organization of production in which, on the one hand, no individual in productive labor, this natural condition of human existence, will be able to escape from his part by transferring it to others. On the other hand, productive labor instead of being a means of slavery will become a vehicle of freedom through which each individual will be offered the opportunity to unfold and activate his all-round physical and intellectual abilities in all directions."[76]

A society capable of harmonizing its productive forces is also in a position to practice the fullest social harmony.[77] The purpose of a socialized society is to "declass" social relations by means of social appropriations of the modes of production. Under such conditions education will free itself from the contradictions imposed upon it by capitalism. What else remains to be done to assure the happiness of man than to permit the free development of his creative abilities.

To recapitulate: according to Marxism, the inherent contradictions in capitalism have their expression in education. The following are the contradictions in capitalistic education: the interest of the ruling class in the *status quo,* with the assumption of mass education as a force of potential danger to the *status quo, versus* modern complex civilization and social living which call for more and more educational "intervention" (i.e. education) in order to sustain the *status quo;* unequal educational provision in city and country; greatest cultural concentration in the city and meagre educational opportunities for the mass of city inhabitants, the jobholders and the

workers; contradiction between physical and intellectual labor and resulting undue specialization in the realm of the latter, the arts included; separation of theory from practice leading to the creation of *pure* theory and bad practice; contradiction between the benefits accruing from mass production due to the division of labor and deteriorating effects of the latter upon the workers' intelligence.

The prevailing system of production with its chrematistic *leitmotif* feeds on ignorance. Ignorance is the mother of industry, which, with the continuous development of division of labor *ad infinitum*, begets greater ignorance and adversely affects human intelligence. To eradicate the annihilating effects of the machine age upon mind and body, Marxism recommends a complete reconstruction of society. This reconstruction must express itself in complete socialization of the modes of production, in fact, of the entire national economy. Education, according to Marxism, will benefit from such a socialized arrangement. Opportunity will be presented to all to manifest the aggregate of their abilities and capacities.

Chapter Three

REVIEW OF CAPITALIST EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE

The Industrial Revolution and Its Effects on the Education of Labor

IN *The Condition of the Working Class,* written in 1845, Engels discussed education and its importance as an ameliorating factor in the deteriorated family life in industrial England of the middle nineteenth century.

Before the introduction of machinery, Engels said, all work, such as weaving, was carried on in the workingman's farm-home. The family owned or rented some land, and its home was permanently settled. Parents and their children were at home all day; the family atmosphere was one of obedience and fear of God. The members of the family could rarely read and more rarely write. Parents and children went regularly to church and listened to the reading of the Bible although they often did not understand it. They never talked politics and thought very little.[78] They were intellectually dead. There was a lamentable lack of formal education, which could have improved this society. Nevertheless, in this pastoral society the degrading effects of educational want were not vile or vicious.

In 1764 there began, with the spinning jenny, the invention of machinery which diminished the cost of production and increased considerably the demand for woven goods. The family began to abandon farming and gave their full time to weaving. By degrees the class of farming-weavers disappeared, and their free holdings were taken over by a new class of tenants. The farming-weaver became a proletarian.

With the constant improvement of the machine through new inventions the existence of the single spinner became impossible, and the development of the factory system began. With the victory of machine-work over hand-work and the crowding of people into cities began the demoralization of the working class. The industrial revolution brought dire economic consequences, such as the ever recurring economic crises and the ever growing numbers of unemployed. These unbearable conditions grew from bad to worse.[79] "Hence, it comes, too, that, the social war, the war of each against all, is here openly declared."[80] Factory conditions had degenerating effects on the workers even when they were employed. "They [the workers] are exposed to the most exciting changes of mental condition, the most violent vibrations between hope and fear; they are hunted like game, and not permitted to attain peace of mind and quiet enjoyment of life. They are deprived of all enjoyments except that of sexual indulgence and drunkenness, are worked every day to the point of complete exhaustion of their mental and physical energies, . ."[81]

Engels continued to draw a picture of desolation and ignorance. Poor congested dwellings, want, wretched conditions and misery produce the most demoralizing manner of living. With the spreading ignorance the mass of the people sank into degradation. How could they "adopt a different way of living when they [were] not better

educated?"[82] Deprived of mere necessities, enfeebled parents beget enfeebled progeny. "The neglect to which the great mass of working-men's children are condemned leaves ineradicable traces and brings the enfeeblement of the whole race of workers with it."[83]

Neglect of education opens the way to further degradation, the consequences of which will be borne by the oncoming generations. "There is the example of the great mass, the neglected education, the impossibility of protecting the young from temptation, in many cases the direct influence of intemperate parents, who give their own children liquor."[84]

The degradation of the family became complete when the housewife, for purely economic reasons, was drawn into industry. The improvement of the machine made home labor cheaper. The cheapening of labor caused the housewife to work away from home. Parents neglected children, and many of the latter suffered or died because of accidents.

Engels then proceeded to the discussion of education, or rather the lack of provision for it under the industrial system. He pointed out certain positive effects education might have on the family if properly provided for.[85] There is no provision for compulsory education, he stated, and the means of education are available for only a negligible proportion of the English population. "The few schools at command of the working class are available only for the smallest minority, and are bad besides."[86]

The teachers are worn-out workers, Engels testified, having hardly even elementary knowledge, and hence quite unqualified for the teacher's task. Besides poor teachers and the lack of schools, the children, required by law to receive an education, are not in a position to attend school. Masses of children work all week in the

mills and have neither the time nor the strength to attend. Evening schools, established for children who are employed during the day, have been abandoned because of poor attendance. Engels said of the educational clauses of the Factory Acts providing "compulsory" education for the child-worker, that "it is asking too much, that young workers who have been using themselves up twelve hours in the day, should go to school from eight to ten at night."[87] The new educational law, said Engels, is hypocritical and does not take proper care of the education of poorer children.[88]

Thus he showed how destructive the effects of the industrial revolution were upon the family. Pre-industrial conditions provided an education through participation in household industry. Since the modes of production and social relations in pre-industrial society were simple, all could share in the common activities of the group. Education was achieved through participation, through sharing in common labor. The industrial revolution changed the agricultural worker into a city dweller, and took the families away from their homes and put them into factories. Severe modes of competition and exploitation of labor resulted in the moral and physical degradation of the family. Gradually, as the proletariat increased in numbers and the cities became more congested, degeneration and ignorance became the lot of increasing numbers. With the improved machinery, wage labor became increasingly cheaper, and more mothers of families were forced into industrial work and became wage earners. The family thus shifted from a wholesome social unit to a nest of moral degradation.

Education and economic reformation are means of preventing the masses from reverting to barbarism. However, provisions for education were generally lacking, and as far as provided, they were of a sort that could not be of

benefit to the proletarian learners. According to Marxism, only such a type of education was provided as would advance the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Appeasement: The Factory Acts and the Educational Clauses

Consistently, the various Factory Acts that were passed in their times seemed to Marx and Engels to indicate that the bourgeoisie, despite rising public opinion, was proceeding with the old type of education. Not only did the ruling class indoctrinate the pupils in an acceptance of the existing social relations, but it also spread through the school certain religious dogmas which, in Marxian opinion, would cause mental deterioration of the workers.

It was fortunate, said Engels, that the hard struggle for existence gave the workers a "practical training, which not only replaces school cramming, but renders harmless the confused religious notions connected with it, and even places the workers in the vanguard of the national movement of England."[89]

Engels explained the provision of this kind of education by the fact that "the bourgeoisie has little to hope, and much to fear, from the education of the working class."[90] Marx gave a similar explanation.[91] The bourgeoisie, Engels pointed out, provides for the workers only as much education as is needed for its own interests. "Since the bourgeoisie vouchsafes them only so much of life as is absolutely necessary, we need not wonder that it bestows upon them only so much education as lies in the interest of the bourgeoisie."[92] This explains the limited curriculum, unscientific methods, and the neglect of "mental and moral training." "The most unprofitable

side of religion, polemical discussions, is made the principal subject of instruction and the memory of children overburdened with incomprehensible dogmas and theological distinctions; . . . all rational mental and moral training is neglected."[93]

Reading and writing, it has been already noted, were rare accomplishments among the people. Writing was considered by the religious leaders an unnecessary art for the workers, and not a proper subject to teach. Sunday Schools, testified Engels, do not teach writing "because it is too worldly an employment on Sunday.[94] "The quality of reading," he comemnted, "is appropriate to the source of instruction," and "he who knows his letters can read enough to satisfy the conscience of the manufacturers."[95] From first-hand reports[96] Engels cited cases of many schools where religion was the sole subject of instruction. Despite the cramming of religious doctrines for four or five years, the "profoundest ignorance even upon that subject prevailed."[97]

According to Engels, the bourgeoisie, despite strenuous efforts, did not succeed in imbuing the worker with its confused religious notions. On the contrary, this improper formal education provided the worker with an opportunity to see and to learn by contrast the deeper meaning of practical training inherent in the struggle for existence. The industrial system contributed another educational factor which proved of value to the worker. In the old patriarchal order, which cherished the institution of the family, the slavery of the worker was not apparent, and hence his intellectual needs were not given consideration. The evils of modern industrialization in cosmopolitan centers broke down all sentimentality, and made the worker conscious of his own interests and needs and forced him to an expression of his own will. The family received a practical education under the new industrial

regime, and the workers began to "consider themselves a race wholly apart."[98] Practical education made them "speak other dialects, have other thoughts and ideals, other customs and moral principles.[99]

Marxism contends that the reality of life under modern capitalism has made the worker more humane, and given him an education of experience through hard struggle. "The humanity of the workers is constantly manifesting itself pleasantly. They have experienced hard times themselves and can, therefore, feel for those in trouble."[100]

The faulty education accorded to the worker by the ruling class really serves him favorably. By placing all his emphasis on meeting conditions of this life and on this earth, it allows no time for thoughts of "other worldliness." "His faulty education saves him from religious prepossessions, he does not understand religious questions, does not trouble himself about them, knows nothing of the fanaticism that held the bourgeoisie bound; and if he chances to have any religion, he has it only in name, not even in theory. Practically he lives for this world, and strives to make himself at home in it."[101]

Marxism insists that education is badly needed by "a class about whose education no one troubles himself, and which is a playball to a thousand chances."[102] Education is a most imperative need for the worker and his family at present, under the present social order. Consider how the present social order "has made family life almost impossible;"[103] think of the worker's comfortless home, with husband, wife, and children working away from home; observe those resulting physical estrangments and family difficulties which are so demoralizing for children. After all, none can escape family life. In the interests of a wholesome family life, education is most essential "for the favorable development of female character."[104] For the sake of the preservation of morals, education is neces-

sary even for employers, "who without education or consideration for the hypocrisy of society, let nothing interfere with the exercise of their vested interests."[105]

What kind of education does the proletariat need, then? Engels was in favor of a "proletarian education, free from all the influences of the bourgeoisie."[106] At this stage, Engels did not state clearly what he meant by a proletarian education, the full implication of which later emerged from Marxism. In the work under discussion, written in 1845, Engels praised highly the socialist and chartist institutes where "the children receive a purely proletarian education free from all the influences of the bourgeoisie; and [where] in their reading-rooms proletarian journals and books alone, or almost alone, are to be found."[107] He had special praise for the socialists "who have done wonders for the education of the proletariat,"[108] who had translated the works of the French materialists and published them in cheap editions.[109]

Marx also was bitter in his criticism of the educational efforts of capitalism. The educational efforts made under that system he invariably showed to be insincere, selfish, and inimical to social welfare. Greed, appropriation, and indoctrination of the ideas of the ruling class were responsible for the barren educational efforts of the bourgeoisie.

For instance, in his discussion of the ministry of d'Hautpoul under Bonaparte in 1849, he explained the educational reforms of the bourgeoisie on that basis. "During these days, only two important laws were enacted: a fiscal measure, to reestablish the excise on wine; and an Education Act, to make an end of infidelity. While wine-bibbing was thus rendered more difficult for the Frenchman, he was all the more bounteously supplied with the water of true life. Whereas, in the law reimposing the wine tax, the bourgeoisie declared the old and

detested French fiscal system to be inviolable, the Education Act was an attempt to ensure the persistence among the masses of that good will which made the fiscal system seem tolerable."[110]

It is interesting to follow Marx's criticism of the "educational reforms" in England and to see how, against his own belief, he discovered through them the principle of the "education of the future."

As a result of the industrial revolution, child labor in England became an institution in the middle of the nineteenth century. Parliament, therefore, passed successively a number of Factory Acts for the regulation of industry. Marx criticized these legal provisions, especially in relation to their educational clauses. Condemning the practice of the transformation of immature human beings into "mere machines for the fabrication of surplus value,"[111] he stigmatized the result of the Acts as "intellectual desolation."[112] Marx made a distinction between mental deterioration produced artificially through the social environment and natural ignorance resulting from neglect only. In the latter the mind's natural and potential capacity is not destroyed, and its "natural fertility" is left intact; while in the former the bourgeoisie, advancing its own greedy interests, causes actual deterioration of the workers' minds.

Marx corroborated Engels' observations upon the deficiencies of the so-called educational clauses.[113] He traced the inadequate legal framing of the clauses not to lack of means to promote real education, but to the selfish economic calculations of the bourgeoisie. Marx ridiculed those clauses which claim that "elementary" education should be made obligatory for all children under fourteen employed in those industries subject to factory legislation.[114]. He undertook to prove[115] that the educational clauses of the Factory Acts were predermined to failure,

since there was a conspicuous lack of provision of any administrative machinery for their enforcement. He claimed that compulsory education was for the most part illusory, and that the effective opposition of factory owners having the means to evade the educational clauses made the entire educational legislation ineffective. In general, the law which provided that children employed in factories should be *educated* was "delusive," because it contained no specific provisions for securing that end. For example, the law stated that on certain days of the week, for three hours each day, "the children [shall] be enclosed within four walls of a place called a school," but it did not provide the schools. The educational clauses, he pointed out, demanded that children who work in the factories must present to the factory owners a certificate of school attendance, but made no provision for literate teachers in the schools. The schoolmasters who had to issue these certificates of attendance,[116] he claimed, were in most instances unable to write, in fact were so illiterate that often they could not even sign their names.[117] Marx showed also that mere attendance at school did not guarantee instruction.[118] The law, in his opinion, was constructed so as to leave loopholes for its evasion.

The Birth of a Concept: Marx's Great Principle of Education of the Future

Despite his severe criticism Marx did not overlook the positive fact that a great principle was embodied in these educational clauses; namely, "that the giving of elementary instruction is to be a necessary accompaniment of child labor."[119] Despite the lack of provision for schools and good schooling, poor curriculum, illiterate teachers, and the like, Marx realized its success in this one respect:

the establishment of the principle of the need for elementary education for child laborers.[120] This seemed to him to be the keynote for future education: "The germs of the education of the future are to be found in the factory system."[121] He conceded positive value to bourgeois law, when it fitted into his own theory. Hence he said: "The success of the Act in this respect gave the first proof that it is possible to combine education and physical culture with manual labor, and on the other hand, to combine manual labor with education and physical culture."[122]

Marx based his proof of the success of the "manual-labor-education combination" on the reports of factory inspectors. According to these reports, children working in factories, although receiving only half as much instruction as pupils attending the regular day sessions, learned quite as much, and often more. "The system on which they work, half manual labour and half school, rends each employment a rest and a relief to the other; consequently, both are far more congenial to the child, than would be the case were he kept constantly at one. It is quite clear that a boy who has been at school all the morning (in hot weather particularly) cannot cope with one who comes fresh and bright from his work."[123]

To make the proposition stronger, Marx further stressed it by asserting as a principle of the future of education that it "will be an education which, in the case of every child over a certain age, will combine productive labor with instruction and physical culture, not only as a means for increasing social production, but as the only way of producing fully developed beings."[124]

The words "over a certain age" do not specify when the combination "of productive labor with instruction and physical culture" is to begin. As Marx did not discuss pre-school education, he obviously referred to some stage of elementary education.

From the emphasis Marx put on this "educational combination," one may judge that this thesis came to be of great importance in Marxian educational theory.[125] In 1866, in his instructions to the delegates to the Geneva Congress,[126] Marx stressed the same thesis.[127] Approving of the "contemporary industrial tendency to attract children and adolescents for the participation in the great business of social production," he regretted that this "progressive, healthy and lawful tendency" had taken under existing social conditions an "ugly form." He stated, however, that in an "intelligent social order," each child from the age of nine must, as an adult, submit to the general law of nature and become a productive worker. In order to eat, he must work; and work not only with his mind, but also with his hands.[128] Realizing the existing exploitation of children by the employers in the interest of "surplus-value" and by parents for reasons of need, Marx proposed to cut short the abuses of these "slaveholders" and suggested the following:

a. Division of the young into three age groups and limitation of their work-hours accordingly:
 Group I, ages 9 to 12, two hours work per day;
 Group II, ages 13 to 15, four hours work per day;
 Group III, ages 16 to 17, six hours work per day.[129]
b. Parents and employers should not be permitted to use child labor unless it is combined with education.

Under education Marx included: "First, intellectual education. Second, physical education, such as given in the schools of gymnastics, and military exercises. Third, technical education which acquaints the child with the basic principles of all processes of production and at the same time gives the child and the adolescent the habits of dealing with the most simple instruments of all production."[130]

Such education, Marx stressed, consisting of a combination of "productive labor, intellectual education, physical exercise, and polytechnic instruction," would raise the worker above the level of the other social classes.

Subsequently, Marxist thinkers on education were to rely heavily on this principle, both in its theoretical objectives and in its practical applications. Its ramifications and developments will be discussed later.

Chapter Four

EDUCATION UNDER COMMUNISM: THEORY AND PRACTICE

Projection of Communist Educational Principles

WHAT education should there be, according to Marx and Engels, in a Communist society?

In February, 1845, Engels proposed three preparatory measures for producing a real social order based upon the communist theory.[181] The first step, said Engels, was to provide free, universal education of all children, without any exception, at state expense. "The first [measure] will be general education, of all children, without exception, at state's cost; equal education for all and continuous to an age at which the individual is capable of taking his place as an individual member of society."[182]

Not only must the education of all children be free, but it must extend over a period long enough to make them, through the educative process, capable of becoming independent members of society. Universal education Engels considered an act of justice for every man for "the complete development of his abilities."[183] Society also benefits from its educated members, for the obvious reasons that only "from an educated working-class may one expect the calm and thoughtfulness necessary for a

peaceful reconstruction of society."[184] Hence, Engels proposed:

a. Education for a complete development of the individual.
b. Education up to a mature age.
c. Education to develop presence of mind, thoughtfulness.
d. Education to enable all individual members of society to participate intelligently in social reconstruction.[185]

He was emphatic in pointing out the importance of education for the workers in their own interests. An educated proletariat, he declared, would not endure the wretched economic and moral state imposed upon the toiling masses by the bourgeois order.

Since economics was of the utmost importance to Marxism, it wolud seem logical to expect that Engels should have advocated economic reorganization as the first of the preparatory measures. Instead, he considered education first among the influential factors in the reconstruction of society. To quote: "Meanwhile, of all possible means of preparation, I shall mention only that of which lately there was a repeated discussion,—the accomplishment of three measures necessary for bringing practical communism to a conclusion. The first should be general education. . ."[186]

Two years later, in October, 1847, Engels set forth the educational aspirations of Marxism more fully:[187]

a. Universal education.
b. Education to begin at the earliest period, as soon as the child can dispense with motherly care, such as nursing, etc.
c. Education administered in national institutions at national expense.
d. Combination of education with industrial labor.

Engels provided for an education to begin at an early age[138] and to extend to maturity.[139] For the first time, Engels also introduced into his educational programme the idea of an "education combined with industrial production." Considering the observations made by Engels on the industrial conditions in England in 1844 and his criticism of the educational clauses of the Factory Acts,[140] these seem logical demands.

One notices the modesty of Marxian educational demands in bourgeois society. In March, 1848, the Marxians made a minimum demand[141] for education, expressed in one sentence: *"Allgemeine unentgeltliche Volkserziehung.**[142] The explanation of this is that Marxism considered a broader educational programme unrealizable in bourgeois society. A full Marxian programme could come to life only under a communist order.

Finally, in 1848, in the *Manifesto,* Marx and Engels condensed their principles of education in communist society. "Free public education. The abolishment of factory labor for children in its present form. The combination of education with material production, etc., etc."[143] Here, again, the explicit suggestion is made that factory work by children in its contemporary form should be abolished, and that education in schools should be definitely linked with material production. The words "etc., etc." seem to signify that the authors of the *Manifesto* thought that the repetition, at greater length, of their previously declared educational beliefs was unnecessary.

Marx's "Great Principle" in Education of the Future: Link of Education with Material Production

Until 1867, Marx did not elaborate further on the

**Universal* free people's education.

"labor-education combination" and the part to be played by it in the education of the communist society.

In *Capital* (1867) Marx discussed education at a period after "the inevitable conquest of political power by the working class" and defined it as "technological instruction." He predicted that the latter "will win its place" in the new society. "Although the Factory Acts, representing primary concessions wrung from capital, are content to combine elementary instruction with factory work, there can be no doubt that the inevitable conquest of political power by the working class will be followed by a movement in which technological instruction, both theoretical and practical, will win its place in the labor school."[144]

The words "will win its place" may throw some doubt on several aspects of this principle. First, to what level of education in the school should this principle of "technological instruction" apply? Second, the school level having been defined, the application of this principle presents difficulties with the younger members of that level, who may find it hard to deal even "with the most simple instruments of all production."[145] Third, "will win its place" may mean that not all schools will be given over to technological education. Technological instruction "will win its place" perhaps, where it may be most expedient and necessary. Fourth, in the above quotation, Marx did not speak of technological instruction in the sense of acquainting the learners with all kinds of production, an objective, difficult to realize because of various geographical, industrial, and economic conditions.

It is evident that Marx thought of technological instruction, both theoretical and practical, as most essential in the new education. Moreover, he believed that "there can be no doubt" that in the educational movement following the workers' seizure of power, technological in-

struction will become *necessitas consequentis.*

Even for his time Marx stressed the importance of "labor-education combination" and pleaded for it as a social and educational reform. In this reform, Marx saw the "germ" of the future education, namely the linking of education with material production. In the new society he predicted that this germ would grow into a movement through which "technological instruction . . . will win its place" in the school.

Marx did not describe how technological instructions will "win its place." The details, theory and application of such instruction in the future were left to be worked out by his successors.

Seventy-two Days: Education in the Paris Commune of 1871

On May 30, 1871, two days after the fall of the Paris Commune, Marx read a paper outlining the place history would accord to it.[146] He attached great significance to the Commune,[147] and in regard to its educational reform, he stated, "All of the educational institutions were opened to the people, gratuitously, and at the same time all interference of Church and State was removed. Thus not only was education made available to all, but Science, itself, was freed from the fetters which class prejudice and governmental force had imposed upon it."[148]

The Commune, according to Marx, provided the following educational reforms:

a. Free education for all; free school implements.
b. Education freed from ecclesiastical and state interference.
c. Education free of class prejudice.
d. Freedom of science; freedom of learning.

The Commune had all the people of Paris behind these educational measures,[149] Marx said. The Empire was in disfavor with the middle class, not only from a political but also from an educational point of view. The Empire "has suppressed them politically; it has shocked them morally by its orgies; it had insulted their Voltairianism by handing over the education of their children to the *frères Ignorantins* . . ."[150]

The Commune has indeed embarked on an educational reform[151] aiming at better provision for, and higher quality of, education. "The instruction, exclusively rational, will include reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, the metric system, first elements of geometry, geography, the history of France, rational ethics, vocal music, artistic and industrial design."[152]

Thus the "first proletarian government" introduced a number of new subjects and procedures into the French school curriculum. Those of greatest note were secular and rational instruction, based on reason, scientific experiment, and freedom from superstition; rational ethics stressing solidarity and class struggle as opposed to the traditional type based on custom, or religious dogma; social-political education aimed at revolutionary activity *versus* apolitical and the enclosure of the child within the walls of the school; instruction in the arts; and an attempt to link education with industry, "industrial design."

The Commune proclaimed "the absolute autonomy of the Commune, reaching all localities of France; guaranteeing to each locality the integrity of its rights; and to all Frenchmen the full exercise of their faculties and capacities as men, citizens, and workers."[153] This was amplified by further explanation that among the above "droits inherents" must be included "the direction of local services: the organization of its own judicial power (magistrature), internal police, and teaching."[154]

The Commune guaranteed to each locality, i.e. local commune, full freedom of educational organization and development; the complete integral education and the creation of educational opportunities to facilitate the unfolding and the growth of the abilities and capacities of each indivdual member of the new France.

Each Arrondissement under the Commune had a local educational committee. The report of the Third Arrondissement reads as follows: "Absolutely convinced of the urgent neecssity of preparing a healthy and strong generation, able to utilize in the future the results of the Revolution, we desire to institute a true system of education: an institution which in the field of science will limit itself to known and proven facts, springing pure and without alloy from the crucible of the human reason; and in the field of ethics to those eternal principles of justice and liberty which should mold the man and the citizen . . . It is necessary that humanity arrive at a precise realization of that precept, old as society, and the basis of all true equality! 'He who does not work must not eat'."[155]

Stated in less idealized form, the following were the educational objectives of the Commune:

1. To prepare a healthy, strong generation; new men for the new society.
2. To indoctrinate the young in the "eternal principles of liberty and Justice."
3. To teach the dignity and the importance of labor.

The leaders of the Commune were opposed to religion and its teaching because it was their belief that religious dogmas deceive the intelligence. Religion, they said, preaches a morality hostile to justice because it consecrates class privilege. "The so-called religious dogmas are an obstacle to progress. As opposed to nature, the natural and positive sciences they tend to deceive the intelligence.

Their entirely arbitrary morality is hostile to the sovereign principles of justice and solidarty. They have consecrated all privilege and sanctioned all servitude."[156]

The cry for secular education was voiced by various organizations, arrondissements and their representatives, of the Commune.

On March 23, 1871, the Paris branch of the International Workingman's Association demanded a "free, secular and integral education."[157] Among the demands of the election campaign in the Eleventh Arrondissement, on March 25, was that of "elementary, secular, obligatory education for all."[158] On April 7, 1871, the *Fédération des Associationes Départmentales, Commission d'initiative* seconded the same demands: "Instruction laïque, gratuite et obligatoire."[159] On April 22 the Twelfth Arrondissement of the Commune demanded and invited secular teachers to take the place of "les Frères et les Sœurs" who "have abandoned their posts." With this initial step, the leaders of the Twelfth Arrondissement hoped they could proceed towards "free and compulsory instruction.[160] These demands and aspirations were realized. The reports of the Third Arrondissement of April 23, 1871 read: "Citizens! what you, and we, have demanded for so long; what the men of the 4th of September denied us—*purely laic instruction*—is an accomplished fact in our Arondissement. Thanks to our eagerness, and the activity of the Delegation on Education, as of today, the direction of the three congreganist schools is in the hands of laic tutors. We hope, for the future of our country, that these tutors will shape citizens aware of their rights and duties to the Republic."[161]

That these measures met with the approval of the democratic groups of the population of the Commune may be inferred from the appeal of April 27, 1871 of the *Comité Democratique* of *Ville de Baaune*. The com-

mittee justified its support of the Commune by the fact that the latter had assured the separation of church and state and had undertaken to provide free obligatory elementary instruction.[162]

Finally, the resolution adopted by the Commune at its session of May 17 and published on May 19, 1871, ordered the complete secularization of education. "At the suggestion of the Delegation on Education, the Commune resolves: Considering the numerous advices received by the municipalities of the Arrondissement for the complete substitution of religious by secular instruction, a list of schools still held by the *Congreganistes* shall be drawn up within the next 48 hours. . ."[163]

The report of the Eighth Arrondissement of April 26, 1871, gave a complete picture of the educational set-up, which may have been typical of the other arrondissements.[164] The educational committee of this district attempted to furnish educational facilities for 3251 children, between 7 and 15 years of age, who were still without school privileges. The committee planned also to open *Asiles* for children from 3 to 5 years of age, and *Écoles Maternelles* for children from 5 to 7 years of age. It aimed, moreover, at complete reorganization of the *Écoles Anciennes* into *Écoles Nouvelles.*

On this foundation "d'une sorte d'École normale primaire," the Committee of the Eighth Arrondissement planned to establish "une École normale gymnastique," to provide physical education for all the children of the communal schools. Plans were under way for education in music and drawing. To assure the success of the educational plans, the committee appealed for the cooperation of parents, intellectuals, and the public at large. Only with such general support, the committee felt, could they succeed in "la réforme à la fois scientifique et pratique de l'enseignement pour les enfants."[165]

Another aspect given great attention under the Commune was education in the arts.[166] The resolution of the *Fédération des Artistes de Paris* of April 15, 1871, included the following objectives in art education, no doubt inspired by the Commune: "The construction of large halls for higher education, for conferences on arts, history and philosophy of art."[167]

Not only was "philotechnical" education encouraged, but its quality was to be improved. Besides the history and philosophy of art, esthetics was to be taught and through the encouragement of the arts to be spread among the people.

During its 72 days of existence the Commune found time and energy to persist in its efforts towards improving the economic condition of the artists. Thus, the educational commission of the Commune attempted to abolish the state of economic exploitation in the artistic profession and to substitute for it some form of collective arrangement. "Men and women artist-citizens— . . . are invited to meet in the Conservatory Hall, Tuesday the 23rd, at two o'clock, to discuss with citizen Salvador Daniel, representing the Delegation on Education, the necessary measures to supplant the system of exploitation by a director or a company, by the system of association."[168]

The improvement of the economic status of the artists could be realized in a Commune only through state employment. On the other hand, the provision of art education on a large scale presupposed the engagement of art teachers in new schools where far-reaching instruction in the arts would receive prominence in the curricula. The decree of the Educational Commission of the Commune of May 13, 1871, ordered the establishment of an industrial art school for girls. "The School of Design at Depytren Street will be immediately reopened as

a *professional school of industrial art for girls.* The following subjects will be taught: design, modeling, wood and ivory sculpture, and generally the applications of art to industry. *Courses designed to complete the scientific and literary education of students will be held together with practical courses."*[169]

This art instruction was to occupy a unique place in the educational systems of that period. Although this school was called professional, one may doubt as to whether it aimed at becoming a purely trade school. Disregarding for the moment the term "professional," one reads that its objective was to be "the completion of scientific and literary instruction of the pupils concurrently with practical courses."

One recalls that Marx was not explicit in the terminology with which he described the type of education embraced in his "great principle." It was the principle itself, namely, "education with production," which was important to Marx and his would-be followers. This principle as originally announced was subject to further elaboration, development, and varying forms of application depending, first, on the economic basis of a given society; and then on time, place, social organization, local circumstances, and the like.

The Paris Commune of 1871 was a short-lived episode in the French Revolution, an episode of which Marx had seen both the beginning and the violent end. What theoretical and practical extension Marx's "great principle" would have taken on in the Paris Commune of 1871, if the latter had continued in existence, is left to speculation. One is certain, however, that this type of education, to be known later as polytechnic, was adopted by the Commune in principle and in practice.

This contention is supported by a decree of May 6, 1871, ordering the establishment of "professional"

schools, to which both vocational and academic teachers were to be appointed. "The first professional school[s] will open shortly in the premises previously occupied by the Jesuits, Lhomond Street, the Fifth Arrondissement. Children 12 years old or older, at the same time, in whatever Arrondissement they reside, will be accepted, *to complete the education they received in primary schools, and to be trained as apprentices in the various professions.* Parents are requested to enroll their children at the Pantheon Municipal Hall (Fifth Arrondissement) specifying the craft which the child wishes to learn. Workers above the age of forty, who wish to teach a craft, must also enroll at the above-mentioned office, stating their craft. We also hereby appeal to teachers of living languages, sciences, design and history, who wish to partake of this new kind of instruction."[170]

Finally, the decree of May 17 of the Educational Commission of the Commune, issued only eleven days before the fall of the Commune, leaves no doubt that in its educational philosophy the leaders of the Commune had subscribed to Marx's "great principle." "Considering the importance that *the Communal Revolution affirm its essentially Socialist character by a reform of education:* granting to everybody the veritable basis of social equality, *integral* education to which everyone is entitled, facilitating the learning and the *practice of the profession for which the individual is fit by his preferences and aptitudes;* Considering, on the other hand, that while waiting for a complete plan of integral education, to be formulated and realized, it is necessary to implement those imediate reforms that will make possible such a radical transformation of education in the near future; the Delegation on Education invites the municipalities of the Arrondissement to send, as soon as possible, to the above-mentioned Ministry of Public Education, 110 Rue

de Grenelle-Germaine, information as to the premises and buildings best fit for the quick *organization of professional schools, where students will complete their scientific and literary education while being trained for a profession.* The Municipalities of each Arrondissement are asked furthermore to make plans with the Delegation on Education to place professional schools in operation at the earliest possible date."[171]

The linking of education with production was thus to become a factor in both the general and "professional" education sponsored by the Commune. This educational reform, this adoption of Marx's "great principle," was declared by the Commune to be the "affirmation by the Commune-revolution of its essential socialistic character." Such "integral" education, the leaders of the Commune thought, would facilitate and assure to each the utmost development of his "tastes and aptitudes."

On second thought, one carries the impression that the Commune's educators interpreted, to a large measure, Marx's "first principle" in terms of "professional" education. This would be a far cry from the meaning attached by Marx to his "labor-education combination." To be sure, professional education, to be socialized by communist "intervention," was an area distinct and separate from general education. Subsequent developments, to be brought out in the chapters to come, will prove the Commune's interpretation of Marx's "first principle" to be somewhat in error. It is conceivable, however, that, given a longer span of life, labor-education combination in the Commune would take form a content nearer to the modern Marxian practice.

To Marx the Commune was the forerunner of the future socialist society. In his address, *The Civil War in France,* he glorified the Communards' struggle for the new life to come. He enshrined their revolutionary struggle in the hearts of his sympathizers and in those of

his followers. From this time on, Marx's attitude towards quasi-reformers and "opportunistic" educational programmes of liberal groups and moderate socialists became firm and overtly antagonistic.

It is due, partly, to this unconditional attitude as well as to differences in political orientation and subsequent interpretations of the masters' legacy that the unity even on the Marxian front became a thing of the past.

Part 2

Masters and Disciples

Chapter Five

REVISIONISM IN EDUCATION

The Commandement: Socialized Economics Prior to Socialist Education

ENGELS, in 1845, it will be recalled, spoke in praise of the educational undertakings of the Socialists among the workers.[172] In the *Critique of the Gotha Programme,* written thirty years later, in May, 1875, Marx pointed out the errors in the fundamental principles proclaimed by the leaders of the German Social Democracy.[173] The Gotha programme, Marx claimed, was too eclectic, and there was too much distortion of fundamental principles.[174] He ridiculed the political demands of the Gotha programme.[175] He asserted that the humble demands found in the programme, although adopted in some democratic countries, were nevertheless impossible of complete realization because of inherent contradictions in a bourgeois state.[176] He also attacked the principle of "equalitarianism" and "rights" as advocated in the programme: "Right can never reach higher than economic structure and the cultural development of society as conditioned by it."[177]

In Marx's opinion, economic reconstruction must precede a Socialist-Labor educational programme. The edu-

cational section of the Gotha programme stated that: "The German Labour Party demands as the intellectual and moral bases of the state: Universal and equal elementary education through the state. General compulsory school attendance, free instruction."[178]

Marx maintained that these educational demands were meaningless under the existing modes of production and social relations. He claimed that in a social order which promotes class struggle[179] such educational demands were unrealizable.

One must keep in mind the Marxian dogma which presupposes that a ruling class controls the ruling ideas.[180] Consequently, education in any state, according to Marxism, would be that of and for the class ruling in that state. This, then, is in itself enough reason to stamp "equal education" on "moral bases" as unrealizable in a bourgeois state. The Marxian doctrine of educational intervention makes such a conclusion inevitable, for bourgeois intervention in education is a class-conscious and legalized in the defense of its own interests.

Marx also ridiculed the socialist demand for "universal and equal elementary education": "*Equal* popular education. What on earth does this mean? Is it believable that in the society of today (and this is all the programme has to do with) education can be *equal* for all classes? Or do they want to lower the upper classes by compulsory means to the modest level of education—elementary schools—which alone is compatible with the economic position of both wage workers and peasants."[181]

"Compulsory school attendance," admitted Marx, actually did exist in Germany at the time.[182] It was a reform realized in some other democratic countries, where the force of intervention through schools was fully appreciated by the authorities. "Free instruction" was realized in other countries, e.g. in Switzerland and in the United

States of America. The schools of the United States were "free" to enable the well-to-do, claimed Marx, to receive education gratis.[183] "If in some states of the latter country the higher educational institutions are also "free," all it means in actual fact is that the upper classes defray their educational expenses from the treasury."[184]

Marx advocated the exclusion of church and bourgeois government from any influence in education. "Thoroughly objectionable is elementary state education. Determining by legislation the expenditure on the elementary schools, the qualifications of the teachers, the branches of instruction, etc., and as happens in the U. S. A., investigating the fulfilment of these legal precepts by state inspectors is a very different thing from making the state educator of the people! It would be much better to preclude the government and the church equally from the influence on the schools . . . the state has need on the contrary of a very rude education by the people."[185]

He insisted that an educational programme containing demands calculated to be realized by the bourgeois state was infected with a slavish belief in a state and the possibility of a democratic practice in a state. Such beliefs, he contended, were "two kinds of superstition both equally remote from Socialism."[186]

Again Marx returned to his great principle discovered in "factory education," namely, the "manual-labor-education combination.[187] There was, however, one aspect of education for the workers, in existing society, which should be demanded: the establishment of technical schools attached to the elementary schools. "The paragraph on the schools should have at least demanded technical schools (theoretical and practical) in connection with the elementary schools."[188] But even such education, Marx pointed out, is also transitory. It may have

to be continued in the "first phase of communist society" where the state will be a necessity. He reaffirmed his belief that a well-rounded and integrated education can be realized in a classless society only.

Dialectically speaking, only in the "higher phase of communism," will education be free of contradictions. The old dualism of labor, with its distinction between head and hand labor and the anomalous specialization, must disappear; and education will become cooperative, all-round, and integral. "In a higher phase of communist society, after the tyrannical subordination of individuals according to distribution of labor and thereby also the distinction between manual and intellectual work, have disappeared; after labor has become not merely a means to live but is in itself the first necessity of living, after the powers of production have also increased and all the springs of co-operative wealth are gushing more freely together with the all-round development of the individual; then and then only can the narrow bourgeois horizons of rights be left far behind and society will inscribe on its banner: from each according to his capacity, to each according to his need."[189]

Thus, in 1875, Marx, criticizing a socialist programme of education, again projected as the main goal of education the all-round development of the individual. This, he maintained, will only be possible in an economically and socially reconstructed society. This new society will not be brought about by a rapid transformation of the old. Between the two periods of capitalist and communist society, lies the period of revolutionary transformation, a transition period.[190] But this again is necessarily a state organization where material social appropriation is enforced. Under enforced modes of production, the ideal expression of the pertinent social relations is necessarily also enforced. Education in this transition period will

serve as the "mightiest weapon" to prepare "new minds, new men" for the new society in the higher phase of communism.

Orthodoxy and Revisionism

It is natural that a set of ideas so revolutionary in their character as the teachings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels should have attracted many disciples. Some of these have differed in their interpretations of the master's teachings. The dissensions among Marx's disciples and co-workers became evident in the "First International,"[191] of which Marx himself was the leading figure. They continued to grow, after his death in 1883, in the Second International formed in 1889.[192]

Nearly all of Marx's followers have incorporated into their programs his utimate aim—the establishment of the classless society. On this they have religiously agreed. They disagreed, however, on the method to be used to achieve that end. Some of Marx's followers interpreted their master's teachings as advocating the method of violence and revolution, as the only forceful means for affecting social changes towards the objective—the classless society. These disciples, therefore, energetically opposed those who claimed to have found in Marx and Engels indications of a tactical concession: the method of gradual evolutionary reforms. In addition, there were other differences, in principles of theory and application, which widened the gap between some disciples of Marxism.

As it was to be expected, these differences have found expression in their theories of education. A fuller presentation of their social and economic philosophies and the resulting theories of education, as given by the several schools of Marxism, will follow.

In the classless society, to be achieved by the revisionists or reformists through peaceful evolutionary means, education, except in one important principle, was not to be different from that projected by the orthodox Marxists. But they conflicted in their views on education in the bourgeois order.

The difference between these two factions, springing from their divergent attitudes towards the prevailing social order, became in time insurmountable. The reformists insisted on the revision of the Marxian conception of class-struggle. The change in this conception, they urged, became imperative as a result of the constantly improving economic status of the working class in the present social democratic order. In addition, the rise and growth of the new middle-class have, in their view, completely changed the economic and social organization as conceived by Marx in his times. Consequently, according to the revisionists, the fullest cooperation of socialists with the existing democratic order became essential in order to achieve beneficial educational reforms.

Revisionism: Bernstein, Jaurés, Hyndman

Eduard Bernstein is considered the founder of "revisionism." Bernstein saw a fundamental contradiction in the theory of Marx and Engels: a dualism of evolution and revolution. "The Marxian theory attempted to embrace the essence of both currents. From the revolutionary it took over the conception of the emancipation-struggle of the workers as a political fight; and, from the socialist the insight into the economic and social preconditions of the workers' emancipation . . . Which further development the Marxian theory will embrace de-

pends, in the long run, on the degree of compromise it will assume within that dualism."[193]

Bernstein vigorously opposed "the overestimation of the creative power of the revolutionary force *versus* the socialist conception of modern society."[194] He acclaimed evolution and democracy against revolution and proletarian dictatorship. "Democracy is the means for gaining socialism, and the former is the form for realization of socialism."[195] In relation to historical materialism he claimed that "the contemporary state of economic development allows more playroom for independent activity to ideology and especially ethical factors as heretofore."[196] Dialectics he considered as "treachery within the Marxian doctrine, which stands in the way of logical consideration of things."

His belief in "democracy" Bernstein also expressed in his educational theory: "Social democracy wants to democratize education from its foundation. It wants to create a true *Volkschule* in order that the *Einheitsschule* become a reality, i.e., the whole educational system base itself organically on a compulsory, equal and free elementary school."[197]

Thus Bernstein was for the *Einheitsschule* which was planned but not realized under the Weimar Republic.[198] He was definitely against any form of biased instruction or indoctrination. "Der Unterricht soll das selbstständige Denken wecken und fördern."[199] The school was to be secular and provide free instruction and free school implements.[200] Bernstein believed in the full realization of socialist economic and educational reforms in a bourgeois-democratic order. He did not include in his educational programme the Marxian principle of labor-education combination, or education linked with material production.

Another brilliant representative of the revisionist

school was Jean Jaurès (1859-1914). In 1905, he defined the right of the individual to education: "Every human being has a right to complete growth. He has then the right to exact from humanity everything which can supplement his own effort."[201] Jaurès emphasized the right of the individual, a concept which has become widely accepted. Moreover, Jaurès stressed the individual's right to "take" but not his duty to "give." But society also has a right to exact from the individual a reciprocal contribution to the growth of society. This mutual process was not taken into consideration by Jaurès.

Jaurès was the humanitarian pleading for educational rights and opportunities for the individual and not for a social group or a social down-trodden class. It was his belief that by improving the individual, society as a whole would improve. These reforms and improvements were to be obtained by peaceful means, or by a peaceful "proletarian revolution" which Jaurès, the revisionist, described as "the Revolution that will be embodied in things, in laws, and in our hearts, not in formulas and words, and it would free the great work of proletarian Revolution from the sickening and cruel odour of blood, of murder and of hate which still clings to the bourgeois Revolution."[202] At a later stage, after gradual, evolutionary transformation, "when the proletariat has conquered, when Communism has been instituted, all the stored-up human effort of centuries will become a sort of supplementary nature, rich and beneficient, which will welcome all human beings from the hour of their birth, and assure to them their full development."[203]

In his educational ideals, he concurred with Liebknecht, whom he quoted, that "Socialism considers education one of the essential duties of the state, and that its conception of civil and social ideal is that every individual should embody as fully as possible the ideal human

qualities."[204] The "ideal human qualities" were to be realized only with the coming of the new social order. Liebknecht, according to Jaurès, defined this social ideal as twofold: economic and human. "The deep significance of socialism lies in the fact that it unites and fuses the most sublime ideals. Without the economic side the human ideal would remain in the air. Without the human side the economic aim would lack moral consideration. The two are indissolubly united."[205] This is consistent with Marxism: the creative efforts of men on the "ideal plane" are based on economics. On the other hand crass, solipsistic, non-social materialism is censured. Materialism must consider the entire human social process of which education is a part. The two, economics and education, are within certain limits interlocked.

Jaurès' conception of education in the future society was similar in most respects to that of Marx. When Socialism has triumphed, he wrote, when "conditions of peace have succeeded to conditions of combat . . . all men . . . will feel that they are cooperators in the universal civilization, even if their immediate contribution is only the humblest manual labor . . . men will have a better understanding of the hidden meaning of life . . . ; they will understand history better and will love it, because it will be their history, since they are the heirs of the whole human race. Finally, they will understand the universe better, because when they see conscience and spirit triumphing in humanity, they will be quick to feel that this universe which has given birth to humanity cannot be fundamentally brutal and blind, that there is spirit everywhere, soul everywhere. . . . Their point of view will be changed: they will look with new eyes not only at their brother men, but at the earth and the sky, rocks and trees, animals, flowers, and stars."[206]

One may conceive what Jaurès meant. In the new so-

ciety, because of socialized production and fair relations of production, education will induce on the largest social scale co-operation, understanding of life, an intelligent understanding of man's past history for a better evaluation of the present, a penetrating forward view of the future, and a deep comprehensive love for things spiritual.

Revisionism, stemming from Bernstein, has come down to the present and is being continued by its adherents in many countries where the free expression of opinion and political doctrine is a part of the governmental system.

Revisionism fell short of Marx's cardinal principles. It discarded the Marxian doctrine of revolution with its immediate economic socialization. Revisionism believed in the gradual accomplishment of its economic and educational program within the framework of the bourgeois democratic order. Revisionism definitely opposed any indoctrination in schools and did not include in its educational philosophy Marx's great principle of linking up education with industrial production.

Henry Mayers Hyndman (1842-1921), a typical "independent" English socialist,[207] is not generally considered a disciple of Marx, but he was nevertheless influenced by him. In his book *England for All.*[208] written in 1881, Hyndman pointed out the ills of the working class and suggested a number of "practical remedies," one of which was "free and compulsory education in its widest sense.[209] Repeatedly he criticized those who opposed "complete free education," and, like Socialists of all shades, he maintained that the provision of such is the duty of the state. "The contention that really complete free education is the duty of the State for the protection of the common interest, is looked upon as little short of socialism by the well-to-do, who of course wish their children to start slightly handicapped with a good education in the race of life.[210]

In another work, Hyndman gave a broader exposition of his views on education for the people, at large, and declared that he "had always been of opinion that the only possible solution of the problem of education was that it should be gratuitous, compulsory and secular, and for the best kind for all classes, from the common schools up to university, with physical training for boys and girls all through."[211]

Evidently, Hyndman, like the revisionists, believed the prevailing state capable of providing an education of the "best kind for all classes." The elements of revolution, revolutionary socialized economics, and the great principle of labor-education combination are entirely lacking in his educational programme.

Chapter Six

REVISIONISM IN EDUCATION (*cont.*)

"Kautskism" in Education: from Orthodoxy to Revisionism

KARL KAUTSKY (1854-1939), was often considered the great authority on Marx even by his great adversary, Lenin.[212] He was one of the few great Marxists who learned directly from the great master during the latter's life-time and lived to see the Russian "Marxian" revolution and to study its trials and tremors.

One may roughly divide Kautsky's thinking into two periods: the first, up to 1915,[213] and the second, from 1915 to 1939. The first period was characterized by a strict adherence to orthdox Marxism. The second showed Kautsky's gradual shifting to revisionism.

In *Thomas More and His Utopia,*[214] written in 1887, Kautsky committed himself to materialism and the doctrine of historical materialism in the orthodox Marxian sense.[215] In another work,[216] written in the same period, Kautsky followed literally the Marxian steps of economic interpretation of capitalism. In relation to education, Kautsky restated the Marxian contention that with the introduction of machinery the worker fell victim to a

new machine education, an education as an appendage to the machine.[217] Discussing Marx's "great principle" of education,[218] Kautsky wrote: "The working class should receive scientific instruction in the functioning of the methods of production, and practical instruction in the handling of the most various instruments of production."[219]

In *The Social Revolution* (1909), Kautsky opposed the evolutionary method of acquiring political power by the socialists. "The idea of the gradual conquest of the various departments of a ministry by the socialists is not less absurd than would be an attempt to divide the act of birth into a number of consecutive monthly cast."[220]

In the same work, Kautsky prophesized the greatest educational development under a proletarian regime. He maintained that only in such a social order complete freedom in scientific research will prevail. "At the very least a proletarian regime can abolish the conditions which hamper scientific activity at present. . . . It will increase enormously the demand for educated people, and therewith also for the power of scientific investigation. Finally, it will operate through the abolition of class antagonisms to make the investigators in the sphere of social science, where employed by the state, internally and externally free."[221]

Thus, Kautsky favored the revolutionary method as a means of changing the social system. In fact, he maintained that this newly conquered social regime must be a proletarian one. A proletarian regime, he taught, will liberate science and scientific research from the fetters imposed upon it by capitalism. A proletarian regime, Kautsky emphasized, will create complete "internal and external" freedom in education.

The next years witnessed, however, a gradual shift and finally a complete break between Kautsky and "the old school" of Marxism.

About 1922, Kautsky denied that Marxism aimed only at the practical application of socialism. "The idea that the only task of a socialist government is to put socialism into practice is not a Marxist one, but pre-Marxist and utopian."[222]

A socialist mode of production, Kautsky insisted, must be realized slowly and gradually. In reality, he said, the visualized mental picture of economic socialization in the future must come in conflict with new concrete factors of unforeseen significance contradictory and negating the intellectual theory. "The most thorough investigation at the present time will never succeed in revealing all of the agents that will enter into the development of the future and in estimating how and great and significant every one of these agents will assume."[223]

In 1924, in *The Labor Revolution*,[223] Kautsky maintained that the various measures for socialization undertaken by the government, after the workers have captured political power, will necessarily "proceed gradually, probably too slowly for the patience of the workers."[225] Kautsky, therefore, preached the policy of "slowly but surely" also in education. In the same work he intimated that: "Differences of opinion among the population, especially political or economic, are not be to be neutralized by the propagation of a State opinion."[226]

He insisted that Marx was also opposed to educational indoctrination, and quoted him as making the following statement on education in the General Council of the International, in the year of 1869: "Political economy and religion ought not to be taught in the lower grade schools, or even in the higher schools; adults should be left to form their opinions on these matters, about which instruction should be given in the lecture hall, not in the school. Only the natural sciences, only truths, which are

independent of party prejudices, should be taught in the schools."[227]

In *Bolshevism at a Deadlock,*[228] written in 1931, Kautsky showed himself firmly opposed to the violent Bolshevik tactics in Russia. He professed to be a staunch disciple of Marx and Engels; he accused Lenin of misinterpretation and misapplication of the Marxian principles[229] and expressed his doubts as to the feasibility of Marxism in a non-industrial and agricultural country like Russia. Russia's socialization of the modes of production he called the "monopoly of property ownership." He claimed that a similar state existed in education: "Similar to the monopoly of property ownership in Russia is the monopoly of education. It is true that we socialists seek to deprive the possessing classes of their monopoly of education. But only by making available to all, the treasures of modern science and culture. This is not, however, the object of the communists. In Russia they have established a new monopoly of education. This is one of the instruments whereby the dictatorship seeks to buttress its power."[230]

Kautsky accused the Soviet government of destroying intellectual liberty, without which genuine education is impossible. It was Kautsky's firm belief that in respect to education the Russian people had yet to win what many nations in Europe had gained long ago.

Plekhanov and Education: Views, Principles and Tactics

G. V. Plekhanov (1857-1918), a Russian Marxist and socialist leader, presents a case similar to that of Kautsky. Plekhanov also vacillated between orthodoxy and revisionism. Roughly speaking, during the years from 1875 to

1905, he adhered to orthodox Marxism; thereafter, he drifted his position to that of the revisionists.[231]

On education in the bourgeois order, one may find Plekhanov's demands expressed by him as far back as 1888.[232] Like Marx, he maintained that general or professional education under existing conditions could not improve the economic status of the workers. "General education will not improve and professional education will have negative effects on the material conditions of the workers' class. However, if such is the indirect economic influence of education, its direct historical action—on the contrary—is useful to the greatest extent for the workers' class. The more educated the proletariat becomes, the more successful will be its struggle with the bourgeoisie."[233] According to Plekhanov, only an educated workers' class could accomplish a successful *coup d'etat.*

In 1910, Plekhanov expressed his admiration for the revolutionary zeal of the bol'sheviks but doubted the soundness of their tactics and the practicability of their principles. "The bol'sheviks have that doubtless preferability that they are revolutionaries. But the tactical principles which these sincere revolutionaries carry into life, regretably, very often witness to their extremity narrow and sometimes very childish understanding of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."[234]

After the October revolution of 1918, Plekhanov found himself in disagreement with Lenin on the political and economic policies. This difference would most likely have found expression in his theories on education had not his illness and death in 1918 prevented him from presenting his views on education of the "transitory period."[235]

Chapter Seven

ORTHODOXY IN EDUCATION

Orthodoxy: Marxian Authenticity

THE orthodox Marxists claim to be the real and authentic heirs to the ideas and doctrines of the masters—Marx and Engels. Contemproary changes in the social and economic structure and in the composition of social classes were not denied by the orthodox Marxists. But these changes did not diminish, they declared, the force of the class struggle prevailing in the social order. In fact, they claimed, more than ever, in human history this class struggle was nearing its climax, its resolution through revolution.

Moreover, according to the orthodox Marxists, the changes in form and the acquisition of new characteristics by society was a phenomenon fully envisaged by the masters and was subject to their iron law of dialectics. These changes, they claimed, did not necessitate the discarding or alterations of the Marxist laws. What the revisionist failed to see, said the orthodoxists, was that all these changes occurring within the framework of the Marxist laws, were explained by those laws which are capable of governing the course of future historical development

The orthodox Marxists would cooperate under a bourgeois social organization for an improvement of popular education, but with certain mental and tactical reservations. First, this "improved" education would always be to them a "bourgeois" one. According to Marxism, education is an "ideal expression" of the ruling social order and a "superstructure" on the economic basis of a given historical epoch.[236] Some ultimate influence of education on the social order and the economic structure of society was conceded by these orthodox Marxians,[237] but this influence of the educational superstructure was considered to be limited. *De nihilo nihil fit.* One must go to the bottom of things, the orthodox Marxians taught, and socialize the economic organization on which a "really democratic education" in the Marxian sense could be "superstructured."

The "intervention" of the ruling class[238] was to these Marxians another great obstacle to an all-round education in prevailing society. To the orthodox Marxists, education in the existing social order is always class-colored and tainted with the self-interest of the bourgeois. The accumulated contradictions under capitalism,[239] finding their expression in education, will rise at a given historical moment beyond the boiling point and produce an explosion. In the class-dominated state, the whole process is interwoven with the class struggle. Hence it was the duty of orthodox Marxists to educate the toilers in "scientific Marxian socialism." In the bourgeois society, the better educated proletarians would be more susceptible to Marxism, in the sense of becoming the "vanguard of the new society." And when the objective conditions for change were ready, the vanguard, via the revolution, would hasten the change. Then, and then only, all contradictions in education would be ready for reconciliation. In the first stage, under socialism, education as an

expression of the new social relations, would be the mighty socializing means for that happy ending, thought of by the anti-Marxists as utopian. Thereafter, in the second stage, i.e. under communism, education would be a natural and scientifically based component of the new society and would serve the continuously changing social needs.

Mehring's Critique of Prevailing Education

Franz Mehring (1846-1919) and August Bebel (1846-1913) were two outstanding orthodox disciples of Marx. Both were critical of education in the existing society. They were convinced that a constructive all-round education, in the Marxian sense, could emerge only in a classless society. For instance, according to Mehring, the contradiction between physical and mental labor, so apparent in existing society,[240] would cease to be a problem only in the "Zukunftsstaat." "The perfection of machines will make it sufficient for a two or three-hour labor day to supply the needs of society . . . so that any one could devote his free time to intellectual activity. To the same extent, one should, naturally, devote himself to physical activity. Scholars, artists and statesmen prove, by their armchair mode of life, convincingly that handwork is essential for health."[241]

Bebel on Education of the Future

Bebel did not hesitate to pronounce this final judgment on the prospect of education in the bourgeois order. An equal standard of education for all is *impossible* at present. Some may attain higher education even under unfavorable circumstances, by overcoming many difficul-

ties and by applying an amount of energy that few possess. But the masses can never attain it so long as they must live in a state of social dependence and oppression.[242] Thus, according to Bebel, no educational reform could save education from its pitfalls under the existing social order. Only under a socialist system could education be saved.[243]

Bebel recognized individual differences in men "since these differences are rooted in the nature of man." He conceded that in the classless order, education would not be uniformly equal, but insisted that it would present a potential opportunity "under conditions equally favorable to all."

Unlike Mehring, Bebel undertook to describe the "new education" in full. Each newly-born child, as a "welcome addition to society," and as a potential contributor to the further development of society, would be given a proper education by the state beginning from an early age. "As soon as the child will have outgrown infancy [?] it will join companions of its age in common play under common care and direction."[244]

The kindergarten and "play-halls" would be plentifully supplied with necessary implements to enhance the child's all-round development. These educational institutions would be "succeeded by a playful introduction into the rudiments of knowledge and the various industrial tasks."

Here it is clearly indicated that Bebel accepted as one of the pillars of a socialist education Marx's "great principle."[245]. One must note that Bebel qualified such post-kindergarten age education as a "playful introduction" to the industrial arts. This "education-labor combination" was to become a more serious business with the increasing age of the child. "The aim will be to bring up a healthy, hardy race that will be normal both physically

and mentally. Step by step the children will be initiated into the various practical activities, horticulture, agriculture, manufacture, the technics of the process of production. Mental education in the various realms of knowledge will not be neglected."[246]

It is obvious then, that to Bebel education in the new society was to be "polytechnic." "Introduction into mechanical activities in the splendidly equipped workshops, and into horticultural and agricultural activities, will also constitute an important factor in the future education of the young. Everything will be taught with a proper variation of occupations and without over-exertion, in order to educate harmoniously developed human beings."[247]

Bebel did not underestimate the importance of better methods of teaching and of better curricula for the education of the new society. The methods in education, like the modes of production, were to be improved and modernized.[248] Subjects of study were to be "adapted to the child's understanding" and a better integration between subjects was to be sought.

In the new society, according to Bebel, not only education, in the restricted sense, would be gratis, but "All the books and objects required for education and study, food and clothing, will be furnished by society; no pupil will be at a disadvantage with the others."[249] And education beginning at an early age was to continue up to an age thought as mature by society. "Properly regulated and ordered and placed under able control, it [education] will continue until the age at which society declares its young men and women to be of age."[250]

With such manifold changes and reforms the new society would rest assured that it had done everything to have education possible for the all-round developed members "who are as familiar with their own nature as they are with the nature and condition of society into which

they forthwith enter, enjoying full equality."[251]

Not only would the contradiction between physical and mental labor, as Mehring and Marx pointed out, disappear under the new conditions but another capitalistic evil in education—specialization[252]—would also give place to diversity and all-sidedness. This would apply even to art. The certainty of obtaining the means of subsistence, love for children, and the happy enjoyment of esthetic development would endow all education with true artistry. There would be no professional artists, but men devoting themselves, at leisure, to the creative arts.[253]

In such a way did the orthodox Marxists of Western Europe follow in the footsteps of the masters Marx and Engels. Masters and disciples presented their teaching as a scientific religion which was bound to materialize in a new society. Yet it was not in Western nations of Europe where Marx found the bulk of his adherents and followers that Marxism was first put to the test, but in a Eurasian country under the guidance of a Russian ardent apostle and student of Marx. Lenin was the greatest of Marx's disciples and he contributed something new and significant to parent Marxism.

Part 3

The Russian Orthodox Revolution

Chapter Eight

LENIN AND MARXISM: MARXISM-LENINISM AND EDUCATION

Leninism: Continuation of Marxism in the Era of Imperialism

LENIN accepted the doctrines of Marx and Engels as the foundation of a science capable of directing men's actions intelligently in a predetermined direction. He believed this science to be applicable in all lands, in every historical period, in all fields of human endeavor, education included.

In addition to his study of Marx and Engels, Lenin made an extensive study of Hegel and related philosophers.[254] He regarded Hegel's philosophy as of the utmost importance for communism.[255] Hegel's dialectics, as a process of contradictions and synthesis,[256] he called the "unity of opposites." But Lenin, like Marx, was a materialist[257] and he, therefore, "materialized" Hegelian dialectics.

In his explanations of dialectic materialism, Lenin followed Marx and Engels literally.[258] But Lenin contributed certain elaborations to the system of his predecessors, which may be considered post-Marxian or Leninist. Lenin extended the application of dialectic materialism

to Russia, an agricultural country;[259] he considered the theory of surplus value applicable to agriculture; he argued the positive side of city life and considered the contradictions between city and country less irreconcilable than had been thought hitherto; he was the first to introduce the theory of the "proletarianization" of the peasantry.[260] Finally, what is accepted as Lenin's greatest contribution in the realm of revolutionary theory is his analysis of the "imperialist" epoch,[261] the stage of the decay of capitalism, the "dying of capitalism." The revolution, he taught, was inevitable in this epoch, a "necessary entity,"[262] and in terms of dialectics, in this revolution "capitalism will turn into its opposite."[263]

In its effect upon education, this may be interpreted as follows. First, if Lenin had been a consistent Marxist, he should have considered education a superstructure on the economic basis and an expression of the pertinent social relations. A Marxist education, then, could be most naturally "superstructured" on a revolutionary changed material basis. Second, by showing that the laws of Marxian dialectics, long accepted by the Marxists as applicable to industrial society, might also be potent in an agricultural country, Lenin saw the feasibility of a Marxist revolution in Russia and also that it could be followed by Marxist educational reforms. Third, if Russia was on the road toward capitalist industrialization, the proletarianization of the peasantry was inevitable. This was a fact of importance for Marxist thinking in the realm of educational provision and principles. Fourth, the Leninist detection of class-struggle among the Russian peasantry, as expressed in the antagonism between the "kulaks" and the poorest peasantry, resulted in the theory of "proletarian-political" education of the poor agriculturists. This increased the ranks of the class-conscious vanguard of the classless society. Expressed in

dialectics, antithetical forces were accumlating to combat the prevailing order and make an explosion inevitable. This explosion, first effective in the material basis, was bound to have its repercussions on education, since as a part of the social process education would naturally be influenced by the same dialectic formula. Moreover, education, albeit in itself a modifying social force, would have to change dynamically with each vicissitude in the historical materialistic reality, subject to the law of Marxian dialectics.

Dialectically speaking, however, communism could not be expected to arise immediately. Following Marx, Lenin stated that the new communist society would be preceded by a transitional period, "the dictatorship of the proletariat." During this period the last objective of the dialectical process of history would be reached. "The State will be able to wither away completely when . . . people have become accustomed to observe the fundamental principles of social life, and their labour is so productive that they will voluntarily work *according to their abilities.*"[264]

Just when the classless society would arrive was an unanswerable question. "By what stages, by means of what practical measures humanity will proceed to this higher aim—this we do not and can not know."[265]

Theoretically, this related also to education. One could not tell in advance detailedly the "practical measures" in education. The measures depended on the socio-economic intricacies and other idiosyncracies of each given historical period of society's development. But on the basis of the general laws of Marxism one could elaborate on these laws and fit them into the pertinent frame of reference; put them to test and on gained experience therefrom to theorize again until these become real "practical

measures" for the achievement of Marxian ends in education and in other realms.

Thus, if Marx was the philosopher stressing in theory the importance of practice, Lenin was the disciple who absorbed the master's teaching, elaborated upon it, and put it to work.[266] Lenin was the orthodox Marxist who reasserted, extended, and put into action the teachings of Marxism.

In the Soviet Union, more than this is ascribed to Lenin. What he taught and did has been incorporated there under a new term, "Leninism," or often "Marxism-Leninism."

In 1924, Stalin gave the following definition of Leninism: "According to some, it is the application of Marxism to the peculiar conditions of Russia. This definition contains only a part of the truth, not the whole. . . . Leninism is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution. To be more precise: Leninism is the theory and the tactic of the proletarian revolution in general, and the theory and the tactic of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular."[267] According to Stalin, Lenin was the theorist and the active social engineer of the first phase of communism, the "present transitory" period in the Soviet Union.[268]

In the same year, Trotzky gave this definition of Leninism: "'Leninism is also knowledge and skill—knowledge not for its own sake, but for the sake of skill. In this sense . . . Leninism is the resultant and the highest achievement of the whole preceding culture of man." "Leninism is the knowledge of how (and skill) to turn the culture and skills accumulated in the preceding centuries, in the interests of the toiling masses."[269] Thus Leninism is the continuation of Marxism in the epoch of imperialism;[270] a special interpretation and application of Marxian principles in the period of proletarian

dictatorship,[271] with the purpose of utilizing human culture[272] in the interests of the toilers.

This utilization of human culture to promote the communist objectives is a social materialist endeavor requiring separate theoretical consideration in the light of Marxism-Leninism. Only a sound Marxian theory can be translated into Marxian action. Hence, further consideration of some of the arch principles of Marxism, as seen and extended by Lenin, and their relation to education is opportune and pertinent.

Lenin's Attack on Russian Capitalist Education

City versus Country, and Education

Among Marx's doctrines of the contradiction under capitalism, Lenin paid special attention to that between city and country. But Lenin made further elaborations on this and he found that some benefits were to be derived by the working class and the peasantry from urbanization under capitalism, especially in Russia at the end of the nineteenth century. Thus, capitalism had shown its "progressive side in the course of history."

In 1897, Lenin noted the anomalous separation of the urban from the rural community—"the inseparable co-traveler of capitalism.[273] But where Marx and Engels saw only the negative side, Lenin showed also the "progressive side" of this contradiction in the society of "heavy industrial capitalism." One must fully understand this "necessary phenomenon" of capitalism, said Lenin. He agreed with Sismondi[274] that the exploitation of the rural by the urban community is an effect of the supremacy of "mercantile riches" (industry) over the "riches of the soil" (agriculture). In Marx's term, the "foundation" of

the city, which under capitalism is economically richer, is necessarily the basis on which better "superstructures," educational, and the like, can be erected. Hence, said Lenin, "the city surpasses the country politically and intellectually."[275] The new modes of production lead to centralization of great human masses in the cities which accumulate what Lenin called "die geschichtliche Bewegungskraft der Gesellschaft.*"[276]

Furthermore, according to Lenin, the drawing of the agricultural population to the large centres leads to other results beneficial to the village. It brings the agricultural and non-agricultural population together, thus diminishing their opposition. It raises the general standard of the rural population both economically and educationally. It weakens the old patriarchal family order of the country and allows women more independence; it is thus a leading factor in promoting social and educational progress.[277]

After further study, the benefits accruing to both city and village under capitalism became more evident to Lenin. In 1899, while observing the social conditions around St. Petersburg, Lenin noted that the young village boys working in the city from the age of twelve on became "unwillingly cosmopolitan," and that the peasant women from the agricultural belt working in the city became independent. This "independence" and "cosmopolitanism" the newcomers derived from their enriched experience. Therefore, education in the city with its higher literacy, higher standard of needs, and its "comparatively higher degree of intellectual development" was superior to the dark "gray mother-village." As these immigrants to the city went back to their village, permanently or for visits, the new characteristics which they had acquired in the cities penetrated into the village and affected rural life.

* The historical dynamo of Society.

This bringing together of urban and rural life was one, among other factors, paving the way to a future solution of the contradiction. True to Marxist teaching, Lenin thought the removal of this contradiction possible only under socialism. In 1901, he wrote: "The definite acknowledgment of the progressivism of large cities in capitalist society does not prevent us from including in our ideal . . . the dissolution of the contradiction between city and country."[278]

The dissolution of this contradiction did not imply the abandonment of the arts and sciences. On the contrary, it implied that in the society of the future the treasure vaults of culture and learning accumulated in a few cities for the use of a few will become the property and the common cultural store of all the people. Socialism will "destroy that estrangement existing between culture and the mode of living of millions of the village-population, that dull existence which Marx so admirably termed "the idiocy of village-life."[279]

Lenin saw the contribution of the city to education under capitalism, but he thought of that educational contribution as casual and inadequate. Lenin as well as Marx believed that for city and village, a complete socialized education would come only under socialism.

Liberal Reforms versus People's Education

Lenin was opposed to the various educational reforms attempted in Russia at the end of the nineteenth century. These projects aiming at educational reforms, coming from different groups, political parties, and from those under the influence of Western European socialists, he considered inadequate, hypocritical, opportunistic, and calculated only to serve the interests of the prevailing ruling class.

Lenin therefore opposed the prevailing "progress" and "culture" and the means and modes of promoting them. What was called "progress" and "culture" in bourgeois society was, in his opinion, interwoven with the institution of private property, an institution tending to desocalize cultural achievements. In 1899, conceding that contemporary Russia was better than the old,[280] Lenin insisted, nevertheless, that reforms and improvements enacted by the Russian ruling classes, the bourgeois, their agencies and their ideologies, were primarily intended for their own benefit and not for that of the producers, the mass-toilers. One is not a Marxian, Lenin wrote, "when he does not understand that the social milieu for which he projects his progressivism is a bourgeois mileu; and therefore that all improvements of culture really noticeable even in the perfect economy, signify bourgeois progress, improving the conditions of a minority and impoverishing the masses? What Marxian is he, who does not understand that the state to which he proposes the projects is really a class-state, conceived to support the bourgeois and to strangle the proletariat?"[281]

By introducing reforms and enacting improvements, the bourgeoisie is not only constantly improving and strengthening the bourgeois culture; it is also creating a bourgeois intelligentsia to serve the interests of its class. "How could one deny that the Russian university and other educational institutions produce annually such an intelligentsia (??), which will cater only to those who will feed them? How could one deny that the means necessary for the support of this intelligentsia are owned in Russia, at present, only by the bourgeois minority?"[282]

In Marxian terms, those in control of the modes of production are also in possession of the means of ideological expression. Through educational intervention this intelligentsia are produced to support the prevailing so-

cial order. Lenin pointed out the direct economic control over the intelligentsia by capital. This, he claimed, had proved to be particularly true in Russia, where the new development of capitalism had aptly demonstrated the class-character of the intelligentsia.[283]

Lenin, therefore, refused to take seriously any discussion of progress, science, justice, or education in and for present society. Liberal pronouncements in existing society were, he maintained, only noble phrases. They "are aimed at the deception of the broad masses of the people; such eloquent phraseology creates in the public the false impression that liberal reforms will gradually materialize."[284]

The Serfo-Bureaucratic-Bourgeois Socialist Experiment

A similar criticism Lenin directed at the Russian party of the *Narodniki*.[285] In May, 1895, a "narodnik" named Yujakov outlined an educational scheme providing for universal compulsory secondary education in Russia.[286] In the author's view, the plan, if adopted, would give Russia an educational system superior to that of any other in Western Europe.

In each administrative district (volost') was to be established an educational institution (*gymnaziya*); altogether, there were to be 40,000 of these. Boys and girls were to be segregated, with 20,000 schools for each. Students would be from 8 to 20 years of age, with 25 as the upper limit. The *gymnazii* were to be "productive organizations with agricultural economics," possessing extensive acreage in land and capable of supporting the student populations (all told, a fifth of the total population of Russia). Those who could would pay for tuition, board, and so forth; while those unable to do so would *work* to defray expenses. Graduates of the *gymnazii* who

had received their education gratis were to be attached to it for a definite period as workers. Thus the *gymnazii* would become going concerns. If the number of such "graduate-workers" was insufficient, hired labor would be used to supplement it. "Corrective" *gymnazii* were to be established in specially designated places for those who furnished behavior problems.

Lenin attacked Yujakov's educational plan first in 1895,[287] and then in 1897, when it appeared in its second edition.[288] He called this plan a "serfo-bureaucratic-bourgeois-socialist experiment." A "clumsy four-decked term indeed," said Lenin, but so was the plan clumsy and awkward.[289]

The planned organization of social production gave the "utopia" a definitely socialistic aim. But it was not socialistic, Lenin pointed out. The compulsory work for needy students and the freedom from work of those who could pay their way through school was a clear sign that the *gymnaziya* was a class-school. Second, leaving industry out of the *gymnaziya* and endowing it only with an agricultural economy, the old contradiction between city and country, division of labor and specialization, survived and remained as sharp as ever. Third, parallel to the planned social production in the *gymnaziya, laissez-faire* and mercantile production in the towns and cities were left intact, clearly bad socialism. These characteristics—compulsory work for the needy and freedom from work for the well-to-do; stress on agriculture which sharpened the separation between city and country; the division of labor; and the *laissez-faire* in mercantile production—showed clearly that the proposed plan was a creation of and for the bourgeois.

Yujakov's plan was bureaucratic because everything was to be ordered from above. The plan did not provide for social participation and cooperative sharing.

Finally, Lenin made the economic distinction between "service" (*otrabotka,* work out) and "labor." Under capitalism, he said, the worker had to sell his "labor" in order to earn and buy the means for living. Under serfdom, the worker had to "work out" those means for living already received from the landowner. In a similar manner the "graduate workers" were *not* "free" to sell their labor. They, as the serfs, were to discharge obligations for accommodations and means of living already received from the *"gymnaziya."* Under the "gymnaziya" plan the graduates were to render obligatory personal service and remained there for a number of years attached to the *"gymnaziya."* The corrective *gymnazii* were seemingly intended for those who might try to escape an education leading to serfdom. The "graduate workers," he said, were serfs. Hence Lenin's stigmatization of Yujakov's educational utopia as a serfo-bureaucratic-bourgeois-socialist experiment."

This conclusion was of enormous importance not only for the future of education in Russia, but also for the education of the world at large. A great socialist leader condemned an educational reform which might have appealed to many liberals, moderate and reformed socialists. By showing the inconsistency of such a plan as Yujakov's, Lenin warned that similar and other educational plans under capitalism would not provide a socialistic education, the only one desirable. As compared with Yujakov's *gymnaziya* system Lenin saw merits in education under capitalism, but the latter he also condemned on its merits. He held no hope for racial improvement, educational included, in existing society. In 1907, he emphasized this as follows: "Everything, not only the soil, human labor, human personality, conscience, love, and science—all become inevitably venal, while capitalism is in the saddle."[290]

Opportunism of Municipal Socialism

The criticism of the educational plan of Yujakov—the "Narodnik"—was followed in the same year by an attack on the "municipal socialists", and their view on education. "The bourgeois intelligentsia in the West, Western Europe, such as the English Fabians, advance municipal socialism in a "special" direction, i.e., they dream of social peace, reconciliation of classes, and thus desire to transfer public attention from basic problems of the whole economic order and the whole state organization to secondary problems of local autonomy."[291] The "municipal socialists" of Western Europe, pointed proudly to the fact that their governments (England, France and Germany) granted substantial sums for education in the municipalities. Through local enterprise, they argued, one might gradually increase the "collective property," and socialize production.

Lenin denied this, and once again emphasized the fact that the bourgeois had created minor educational opportunities for the workers in their own (bourgeois) interests.[292]. The prevailing economic order needed educated workers, capable of adjusting themselves to complex industrial techniques. Further, the income for these educational expenditures in the municipalities was derived from "secondary" incomes, which the central government found it technically inconvenient to collect. Besides, the money allotted by the bourgeois governments to local education came from "sur-profit," a term coined by Lenin. These allotments were the "crumbs" from the excessive profits made by capitalists on the "capital-export."[293]

Lenin did not hesitate to characterize municipal socialism as "opportunistic."[294] Socialist leaders, he insisted, took the money granted by the capitalists and were thus

bribed to effect "liquidation" of the greater aspirations of socialism.[295] This "liquidation" was brought about by raising the cultural level in large centers and by establishing local educational institutions and purely local reforms. The "bribery" was legalized through the creation of jobs for the leaders of cooperatives, trade-unions, and parliaments. Thus, said Lenin, the "billions in 'surprofit' are the economic foundation on which the opportunism in the workers' movement is maintained."[296]

Lenin characterized such "socialists" as the "cultural lackeys of their class." These educated and cultured gentlemen were on the surface eloquent about liberalism, democracy, socialism, and freedom.[297] Actually, as representatives of the ruling class they monopolized the means of legal opposition, the press[298] and education, and preached the *status quo*. What did education mean to these gentlemen? Lenin asked. And he answered: "Education—gentle lacquer, ornamentation; the 'encumbrance' of the coarsest and filthiest political transactions in a gentlemanly manner. When such a "democrat" chats of education, [Lenin declared], he wants to evoke in the mind of the reader an illusion of rich knowledge, of a broad horizon, and an ennoblement of mind and heart."[299] Lenin did not expect that such leaders would contribute to the people's education because "these educators are not friends of the people."[300]

Thus, in 1907, Lenin was opposed not only to the various educational reforms under Russian capitalism, but also to the leaders who initiated and elaborated them and cooperated with the existing order for their promulgation. In fact, it was upon these reformers who proposed and created artificial measures for alleviation and participated in political transactions detrimental to the interests of the people that he laid the responsibility for slowing down the inevitable reformation.

Lenin heartily approved of those educators in the prevailing social order who were willing to go "into the people" and spread knowledge basic to socialist doctrines, and who thereby drew down upon themselves the thunder of the Russian government. It is they who were the intellectual vanguard of the revolution.

Chapter Nine

LENINISM: PRE-REVOLUTION PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATION

Political Education to Counteract Bourgeois Intervention

CAPITALISM condemned the masses to a state of "suffocation and darkness." "The bourgeois is interested in keeping the toilers in ignorance."[801] In support of these claims Lenin quoted from a confidential letter by the Russian Secretary of State to the Attorney General.[802] In this document, the Russian Secretary of State, Durnovo, requested the Attorney General to take special precautions lest individuals of "doubtful" political views be admitted as Sunday School teachers. "Information received during the late years indicates that persons politically unreliable [the secretary wrote] . . . are trying to enlist as teachers, lecturers, librarians, etc., at the Sunday Schools. . . As the work in these schools is performed gratis, it proves that the above phenomenon represents one of the means of struggle, on legal ground, on the part of anti-government elements, with the existing Russian political and social order."[803] Lenin commented, if some educated people "were willing to share their knowledge" with the people, the state con-

sidered them politically unreliable. In the eyes of the ruling class those willing educators became "anti-government elements."

He insisted that the curriculum which they taught was an "innocent" one. In the Moscow Sunday Schools in 1895, for instance, they taught: "The origin of society. Primitive society. The development of social organization. The state and its purpose. Order. Liberty. Justice. Forms of state organization. Absolute and constitutional monarchy. Labor—the basis of social welfare . . ."[804] In Secretary Durnovo's opinion such a curriculum would gradually acquaint "the students with the theories of Karl Marx, Engels, and the like." According to Lenin, the secretary was most frightened by the study of constitutions and the forms of state organization. Indeed, concluded Lenin, the ministers were "deadly afraid of the unity of knowledge with the working-man." "Without knowledge the workers are defenseless, with knowledge they are a power!"[805] The bringing of knowledge to the masses would create a dangerous force against capitalism. Capitalism saw to it, therefore, that the workers should live in darkness. On this Lenin was in full agreement with Marx and Engels.

Accordingly, Lenin, for many years to come, continued to attack the educational policy of the Russian autocracy.[806] In "The Political Policy of the Ministry for Public Education,"[807] written in 1913, he took to task the ministry of Education.[808] Lenin undertook to prove that about four-fifths of the children and adolescents in Russia were left without education. He traced this effect to its material cause. The political policy of keeping the people in ignorance resulted from the economic interests of the Russian aristocracy, the appropriators of land and industry. These same interests required that the government use its finances for the police and the army rather than

for education. "Russia is too poor financially to pay for education; she is 'rich' enough, however, to spend on her police, army, and political adventures."[309]

Furthermore, to limit education to bourgeois classes, admission to Russian secondary schools was given only to the privileged. Pro-government sources[310] gave evidence of the fact that the various ministries vetoed the admission to schools of candidates from inferior social ranks. Thus, the Russian government collected its taxes for education from 88 percent of the population to educate one and one-half percent only.[311]

Moreover, many of those admitted to the secondary schools were subject to persecution for reasons which Lenin considered unjustified. In December, 1912, a large number of high-school students,[312] accused of belonging to an illegal political organization, were arrested in St. Petersburg. The various political factions of the Duma passed resolutions expressing their opinions on the matter. Lenin's analysis (1913)[313] of those opinions showed his own attitude towards political education in the school, as follows:

The Octobrists[314]—Were against politics in the school. Pupils should have been punished by the school authorities, not by the police.

Lenin's criticism: Their (the Octobrists') ideas were anti-democratic. They were for punishment of the politically active pupils but preferred "softer" administration of punishment.

The Progressives[315]—Thought of political activity at school as an anomalous phenomenon resulting from the heartless, formal policy of the Ministry of Education.

Lenin's criticism: The progressive were for "restoration of order." What progress!

The Constitutional Democrats, the K. D. (Kadets)[316]—Criticized and declared the minister's explanation unsatisfactory, but were against any participation of the "young" in politics.

Lenin's criticism: Same, condemned political activity of students and therefore anti-democratic.

The Labour Group, Trudoviki[317]—Requested the minister's resignation; condemned police measures.

Lenin's criticism: Emphasis should have been on the social order, the real source of the incident.

Social Democrats[318]—Condemned police-rule in education; a "free" school could be realized only in a reorganized state.

Lenin's criticism. Their formula was politically vague. Democracy should ask for free political discussion in the schools. The interrelation between the educational policy and the economic order should have also been indicated.

In short, Lenin wished the schools (under the old regime) free of any form of governmental interference; he advocated the active participation of high school students in politics; and he felt that any semblance of democracy was possible only if the free discussion of political questions was not only permitted but welcomed in the schools.

Such free political discussion in the schools would to some extent counteract the intervention of the ruling class by which it enforced the dissemination of its ideology. Education, as Engels pointed out before, would react to a limited extent on the material basis and might even modify it. Such modification could not but result in a corresponding change in the social relations. Free political education, then, which would contribute to the real knowledge of facts; and their intelligent understanding could awaken the revolutionary and democratic ele-

ments dormant in the masses of the people. To this thesis of a democratic culture potential in the people Lenin gave further elaboration, and he expanded it in his theory of the education of minorities.

"National" Culture and "Democratic" Culture

In each nation or national group Lenin distinguished two co-existent and opposing cultural forces. "In *each* national culture there are, though undeveloped, elements of a democratic and socialist culture; as in each nation there is a toiling and exploited mass, the conditions of their life necessarily call forth a democratic and socialistic ideology. In *each* nation, however, there is also a bourgeois culture—not in the form of "elements," but as the *ruling* culture."[819]

This statement is purely Marxian: the ruling idea of each epoch is that of the ruling class of that epoch. Consequently, under capitalism the ruling culture is bourgeois in nature. Lenin, however, distinguished in each nation the "elements" of a democratic culture. This democratic culture was the potential expression of the exploited, ruled class. The democratization of the educational process would be brought about first by political education in the prevailing social order as counteraction to bourgeois intervention, then by a change in the modes of production facilitated by that education. The full potential democratic "elements" with which the exploited masses are imbued would then come to full expression. Thus, "democratic culture" as a force towards the achievement of a fully democratized educational process, was distinguished by Lenin from "national culture," a culture of the landowners, the clerics, and the bourgeoisie.

According to Lenin, the Marxians proclaimed as their guiding principle the democratic international culture of the workers of the world.[320] For such culture the Marxians of each nation adopted only the democratic and socialist elements and used them as counterweights to the bourgeois "national culture." The defenders of "national culture" cannot be counted as Marxists. "Whoever defends the credo of national culture,—his place is among the petty nationalists, and not among the Marxists. To take a concrete example, could a Great-Russian Marxist advocate the adoption of the national, Great-Russian culture? No. Such a man is to be placed among the nationalists, and not among the Marxists. . . The same applies to the most oppressed and hunted nation, the Jewish: Jewish national culture is the slogan of the Jewish clerics and bourgeois, our enemies."[321]

To the objection of a social democratic leader that the majority of the Ukrainian workers were under the influence of Russian culture, Lenin replied that "There are two national cultures in each national culture. . . If the majority of Ukrainian workers are under the influence of the Russian culture, we are convinced that simultaneously with the ideas of Russian clerical and bourgeois culture there are also at work the ideas of Russian democracy and social-democracy. In their struggle against the first kind of "culture," the Ukrainian *Marxists* should distinguish the second culture. . ."[322] In the interests of the universal workers' movement, Lenin taught, the Marxian leaders of each minority should distinguish and present to the toilers of their national group the second Russian culture, the democratic one.

The School and the Problem of Nationalities

To give expression to their "democratic culture," each nationality must be educated in its own language, Lenin thought, and in an atmosphere of full autonomy. But the Russian government, desiring to instill the ideology of the ruling class, denied that right. Thus, the problem of the education of nationalities became of tremendous importance to Lenin.

Russian reactionaries were conspiring to separate or "nationalize" i.e. organize on racial lines the schools of the minorities in Russia. According to their plan, the few schools provided for a particular national group or minority would be attended only and partially staffed by nationals coming from that particular group. No other schools in Russia would be open to that group.

In 1913[323] Lenin fought against this projected "nationalization" or organization of separate secondary schools for Jews. He directed his attack against the imposition of educational limitations on any minority. He believed that in countries where Jews enjoyed equal rights, they gradually assimilated with the rest of the nation in the midst of which they lived. Speaking as a statesman, he argued that "It is most harmful to inflame nationalism, to isolate within the state one nationality from the other . . . to separate their schools."[324] As a Marxian he maintained that the interests of the working class demanded the fullest equality of all nationalities in the state. The state must "unite the children of the various nationalities in unified schools." Such a unity Lenin considered to be essential in the interests of the class struggle. Even the possessing classes unite in their own class interests; why, he asked, should not the workers do the same? "Consider the capitalists; they try to inflame national [racial] hate in the 'common people;' they arrange their own trans-

actions, however, in the most excellent manner: in the same corporation—Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, Jews, and Germans."[325]

In another work,[326] Lenin returned with even greater vigor to the same problem. He fought the "nationalization" of schools not only as a reactionary nationalistic measure. He also pointed out that the nationalization of schools was inconsistent in a state with a unified material or economic basis. "If the economy of a given state joins its various nationalities, any attempt to divide them, once and for all, for cultural purposes, especially in the schools, is absurd and reactionary."[327] Another reason given by Lenin for his opposition to the formation of separate schools was purely Marxian. "The division of the school by nationalities is not only an injurious plot, but a dishonest, mean, *device* of the capitalists."[328]

To isolate each national group in its separate schools meant "to split, to divide, and to weaken the workers' common cause, which was international in character." Separate schools were a capitalist device to distract the workers from their class struggle to overthrow the existing socio-economic order.

Some Socialists, for instance, the Jewish Socialist "Bund" and the Ukrainian Socialists, like the Russian reactionaries, tackled the problem of the education of national minorities. Their solution, undoubtedly inspired by the educational program adopted by the Austrian Socialist Party at Brünn in 1899, was summed up in the formula, "national cultural autonomy." These socialists demanded that the members of each national group be permitted to unite in national unions which would control and administer the educational and cultural activities of that group. Economic and political matters were to remain in the hands of the central government.

Lenin maintained that this plan was inconsistent with

Marxism, which sought the unity of the workers of *all* nations in their struggle against all kinds of nationalism. Marxism demanded "a democratic universal school." In fact, he claimed, national cultural autonomy was also advocated by the bourgeois political factions of Russia's various national groups, and for that reason "The Russian working class fought and will fight the reactionary, harmful, petty-bourgeois, nationalistic idea of "national cultural autonomy."[329]

The granting to the minorities of autonomous *national* rights in educational matters, rights hitherto denied them by the ruling nation, would mean the equal sharing or partnership of both classes, worker and capitalist, in that education. This meant the continuation of the prevailing "national culture" of the ruling nation, or at best, the substitution for it of the "national culture" of the minority itself. This was another reason why Lenin vigorously opposed the socialist demand for national cultural economy."[330]

The Resolutions of the Central Committee of the Russian Socialist-Democratic Party passed in the summer of 1913 confirm that Lenin's attitude was also that of the party.[331] "The division of the school by nationalities, within the same state, is doubtless harmful from the point of view of democracy in general, and the proletariat's class-struggle in particular."[332]

Lenin held that the Socialist and liberal agitation for national schools for each "national culture" is reactionary. Yet he did not deny the importance of teaching certain elements of each nation's culture. In fact, he thought it most necessary "under conditions of actual democracy to secure for the child of a minority the teaching in the mother-tongue, history of nationality, etc."[333] Marxism recognized the equality of nations and their languages for reasons of democracy and proletarian solidarity.

Marxism favored the instruction of children in their mother-tongue but was unconditionally opposed to the transfer of the school from the state to the "nationalities." "From the principle, 'to take out the school from the jurisdiction of the state' and to hand it over to the nations, may follow that we workers will allow the 'nations' in our democratic state to spend the people's money on a clerical school."[884]

According to Lenin, the school should not be controlled by the "nations." The latter should be granted, by the democratic state, "autonomy" to teach their own language, national history, and other subjects useful for regional needs. They should be administered, however, from a "centre." The general objectives were presumably to be pre-defined by the class which governed the state. And at the head of the state was to be the workers' class, which was to establish a true democracy. In 1914, Lenin stated: "The democratic state should recognize the autonomy of the various regions. . . Such autonomy is not in contradiction to democratic centralism; on the contrary, in a state of a multi-national structure one may by means of regional autonomy actually realize democratic centralism."[885]

The democratic state should unconditionally recognize the equality of, and the freedom to teach, all languages and reject, in any form, privilege to any one language. Freedom of expression must be granted; the right to oppression, denied. The centre should control the autonomous regions and their schools; these, in turn, should look for guidance to the democratic centre of the truly democratic state.

Granted, that each autonomous region was to receive its education in the language of its locality or nationality, the problem arose: Was it necessary for the state to have one common obligatory language? Should this common

"state language" be subject to compulsory instruction in the regional schools? Lenin's answer in 1914 was to demand "The *absence* of any obligatory state language; the guarantee of instruction in the schools, in all local languages; the inclusion in the Constitution of a fundamental law declaring any privilege to one of the nations or any violation of the rights of the national minorities invalid."[886]

The greatness of the Russian language, the "language of Turgenev, Tolstoi, Dobrolubov and Chernishevsky," was recognized by Lenin.[887] In the interest of a "united brotherhood" of all Russia's national groups, an "opportunity" had to be offered to each nationality to learn the Russian language. Lenin was nevertheless opposed to compulsion or obligation. "One does not drive another into Paradise with a club."[888]

The proletariat, Lenin declared, considered with favor the assimilation of nations in the most peaceful manner. The proletariat opposed any form of cultural oppression of any nation by another. The workers were against any privilege granted to or appropriated by any national group. This applied also to schools and to education in general.

Principles of Minorities' Education

In his *Theses on the National Problem,*[889] Lenin summed up his principles on the education of minorities.

"5 . . . The Social democracy demands the unconditional equality of nationalities and is opposed to any privileges in favor of one or several nationalities.

Particularly, social democracy rejects the principles of "state-language." [official language] . . .

6. . . . Any measure by means of which the major-nation would attempt to create for itself a national privilege,

to injure the rights of a nationality (in the realm of education, the use of this or that language . . .) should be rendered ineffectual . . .

7. . . . Social-democracy is opposed to the slogan of "national cultural autonomy". . . because this slogan (1) certainly contradicts the internationalism of the proletariat's class struggle,—(2) this slogan helps to attract the proletarians and the toiling masses to the sphere of influence, and to the ideas of, bourgeois nationalism. . ."[340]

Lenin's criticism of the schemes of the Russian reactionaries and the Socialists for the education of the national minorities and his own solution to that problem may be recapitulated as follows:

a. Absolute and unconditional opposition to "educational separation" of any nationality through creation of "separate" schools for national groups.
b. Opposition to so-called "national cultural autonomy" by which the school would be transferred from the state to the "nations." Opposition to this slogan for the following reasons:
 1. It leads to national isolationism.
 2. It weakens the workers' common cause—the class struggle.
 3. It is a bourgeois device to split the would-be united workers into workers of multiple nations, such as Russians, Ukrainians, etc.
 4. It increases nationalism, as opposed to internationalism.
 5. Danger lest increased nationalism (4) should subject the school to clerical influence opposed by Marxism.
 6. Danger lest the bourgeois and nationalist elements of the culture of a given nationality should over-

come that of the proletarian and democratic "elements."

7. As outcome of (6), the danger lest the bourgeois culture should become the ruling ideology and so retard, dialectically, the process of the democratization and the proletarianization of "international culture."
8. "National cultural autonomy" is anomalous. The division of education on the principles of nationalities within a given state is inconsistent with the economics of the state and of each nationality. Having a general "foundation," the breaking off of any of its "superstructure" is artificial and unsound.

c. In the democratic state, education should be provided for all children of all nationalities within the state. Education should be provided in a unified school for all, irrespective of race, group, and religion. In the democratic state, the history of each nationality and similar topics should be taught in the mother tongue of that nationality if it be demanded. The democratic state should be unconditionally opposed to any "state-language" in the schools, or to the teaching of anything which would favor one or discriminate against another national group.

Unity of Theory and Practice in Education

These Marxist-Leninist principles, as well as their extensions, could be realized only in a democratic state. But what Marx, Engels, and Lenin meant by the democratic state was one in which the material basis had been socialized. How was such a change in the material basis of society to be brought about? Marx's answer was, through

revolutionary practice. Granted that education was a force of ultimate influence in socializing the material basis, its effect was nevertheless considered to be limited. According to Marx and Engels revolutionary practice was therefore the prime mover for change.

But Lenin came to stress the unity of theory and practice. "Without a revolutionary theory there cannot be a revolutionary movement."[341] That ideas spring from material practice,[342] he, the materialist, agreed wholeheartedly. On this he was in full agreement with his great teachers. For a revolutionary, the stress laid by Marx and Engels on practice was also justified. If the idea is the resultant of practice, it follows that the mere criticism of an idea under attack will not produce the desirable change in socio-economic life. Revolutionary practice, then, is the pertinent weapon to be used in order to effect change in the material basis of society. Such thinking, however, did not deny the importance of ideas, when bound in a consistent, systematic theory, in leading to intelligent action.

Lenin faced a constantly growing socialist movement, Russian and international, which was ready to plunge into action. He saw, therefore, the importance of a clarifying theory, which should formulate principles, set up objectives and stimulate a planned and intelligent revolutionary practice. He realized that the lack of a theory or a philosophy of action would invite opportunism. Without dominating principles directing action, there would be too much opportunity for the revolution to be misled to excessive attention to minor objectives which might at the moment seem important; there would be an inevitable selling-out of the greater aspirations of socialism for the sake of narrow localism and immediate ends. In 1902, Lenin said "The importance of a revolutionary theory cannot be insisted upon too strongly at a time

when the fashionable preaching of opportunism is combined with absorption in the narrowest forms of practical activity."[343] Political education, theory, a socialist philosophy of action he held to be even more important than practice or action. A consistent theory, which could result only from broad education of the "vanguard" became of primary importance. Theory would be so important, that theoretical concessions even for immediate action, should not be made, although he found it easier to set up a "common front" on action. Following Marx,[344] Lenin was inclined to compromise with other parties for practical activity, but not on theory. Following Engels,[345] Lenin emphasized, besides the political and economic struggles, the importance of the theoretical in the socialist movement. "At the moment we wish merely to state that the *role of vanguard can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided* by an advanced theory."[346]

The theory of "spontaneity" in mass action, as independent of consciousness, for social change, did not escape Lenin's attention. The formation of revolutionary consciousness, however, could be brought only from without. Education and educators could certainly induce awareness of the objective material surroundings. "The theory of socialism, however, grew out of the philosophical, historical and economic theories that were elaborated by the educated representatives of the propertied classes, the intellectuals. The founders of modern scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, themselves belonged to the bourgeois intelligentsia."[347]

Thus, while not denying "spontaneity" and its effects on social change, Lenin, nevertheless, belittled its role. Theory, on the other hand, was in his view highly important. Only scientific revolutionary theory, he thought, would lead to constructive revolutionary practice. He insisted that scientific theory could evolve only from edu-

cation and from those who were educated. Socialism is a science and one had to be educated and scientifically trained for socialist action. Furthermore, according to Lenin, although "class-interests," at first, made only the workers sensitive to socialism, the science of socialism was founded on *all* materials of human knowledge. This knowledge could be acquired only by education. Socialism, therefore, is interested in the highest development of science and scientific research, in short, education.[348]

It followed that socialist education, containing the ideology of class-struggle, was nevertheless based on the great laws of science, the brain child of all men, capitalists and proletarians alike. Further, socialist education, a unity of theory and practice, aimed to produce men of all -round development, capable of abstract thinking and intelligent action.

Part 4

The Russian Revolution and Educatic

Chapter Ten

LENINISM: REVOLUTION PRINCIPLES IN EDUCATION

The Growth in Education Program of the Russian Socialist Labor Party

TO LENIN education was a unified process of theory and practice. It is difficult to draw a line of demarcation between these two aspects of Leninist education, nor is it easy to decide which, theory or practice, logically comes first. One may assume that neither serves as a beginning in the philosophical circle. Theory and practice, both fuse together, interlock and continue in Lenin's philosophy of education.

Undoubtedly, any change, development, or growth in an educational objective Lenin would explain or set within the system of his unifying principle. The educational objectives of the Russian Socialist Democratic Party [849] as given in its programme of 1903[850] and the new educational programme proposed by Lenin in May, 1917, published by him at the instructions of the party's Central Committee[851] and compared below, bear witness to the actual dynamic changes which had taken place in those fourteen years. The February revolution of 1917 had rendered many educational demands of the party

obsolete. In the light of the new conditions created by that revolutionary conquest, a revision of the old educational objectives became necessary. Not only were new objectives to be set to solve the social and educational problems created by the revolution; but, to justify the new practice brought about by those objectives, they had to fall within the framework of the unifying revolutionary theory. Hence, new changes became necessary. The following outline should explain these.

FIGURE II

The Education Programs of 1903 and 1917 Compared[352]

1903	1917
The Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party inscribes as its immediate objective the overthrow of the tzarist autocracy and the substitution for it of a democratic republic the constitution of which should among other rights guarantee:	*The Constitution of the Russian Democratic Republic* should guarantee:
8. The right of the population to receive education in its own tongue, this to be secured by creating schools at the expense of the state and the local autonomous organs; the right of every citizen to use his own tongue at meetings; introduction of the use of the national language *on equal footing with the state language* in all local, public and state institutions.	8. The right of the population to receive education in its own tongue, this to be secured by creating schools at the expense of the state and the local autonomous organs; the right of every citizen to use his own tongue at meetings; introduction of the use of the national language in all local, public and state institutions; *the obligatory state language to be abolished.*

1903	1917
13. The separation of church from state, and school from church.	13. The separation of church from state, and school from church; the *complete secularization of the school.*
14 Free, compulosry, general and *professional* education for all children of both sexes up to 16 years of age; *the provision of poor children at state expense with food, clothing and school implements.*	14. Free, compulsory general and *polytechnical (familiarizing in theory and practice with the main branches of production)* education for all children of both sexes up to 16 years of age; *close linking of instruction with children's socially productive labor.*
	15. *The supplying of all students with food, clothing and school implements at the expense of the state.*
	16. *Transfer of all matters pertaining to education into the hands of the democratic organs of local self-government; the central government not to interfere in any way with the arrangement of the school curriculum, nor with the selection of the teaching staff; the selection of teachers to be made directly by the population itself, and the population to have the right to remove undesirable teachers.*

1903	1917
In order to safeguard the working class against physical and moral degradation, as well as to insure the development of their power to carry on the struggle for freedom, the party demands the following:	In order to safeguard the working class against physical and moral degradation, as well as to insure the development of their power to carry on the struggle for freedom, the party demands the following.
5. The prohibition of employment of children of pre-school age (up to 16), restriction of the working day of minors (16-18) to *six* hours.	5. The prohibition of employment of children of pre-school age (up to 16), restriction of the working day of minors (16-*20*) *to four* hours, and *prohibition of the employment of minors in night work, in industries injurious to health, and in mines.*
7. Nurseries for babies and infants to be established in all shops, factories, and other enterprises that employ women; recesses to be granted for at least half hour duration at regular three-hour intervals, to all nursing mothers.	7. Nurseries for babies and infants *and places where mothers can nurse their babies* to be established in all shops, factories, and other enterprises that employ women, recesses to be granted to at least half-hour durations at regular three-hour intervals, to all nursing mothers. *Such mothers to be provided with assistance, and their work-day to be reduced to six hours.*

In accordance with Engels' original suggestion, both programs provided for special nurseries and *creches* for infants of working mothers.[358] Children were to be sub-

mitted to the beginnings of a socialist education at the earliest possible moment.

Both, the program of 1903 and that submitted by Lenin in 1917, demanded the separation of the church from the school. It seems that "separation" alone did not signify to Lenin the abolition of religion in education. He demanded the "complete secularization of the school" (13:1917).

Whereas both programs demanded free compulsory education (14:1903, 1917), a point defended with slight modification by many parties of the right, especially the revisionists, Lenin substituted for the provision for "professional" education a demand for "polytechnic" education, thereby reviving and re-emphazizing in definite terms Marx's "great principle" in education. This he demanded to be free and compulsory for all children, male and female, up to 16 years of age. He was emphatic in demanding an education which should link "instruction with socially productive labor" (14:1917). Education, combined with production, would contribute to the social and economic welfare of society as a whole.

Whereas the old programme of 1903 would extend financial help to poor students only (14:1903), Lenin insisted on extending this help to *all* students (15: 1917). Apparently Lenin visualized, already in May, 1917, the socialization of Russia's economic basis. Socialization would place all former classes of the old society on an equal economic footing. Thus, none or all would be in need of financial subsistence. Therefore, complete free education would be necessary for the entire population of Russia.

In accordance with his principle of decentralization or democratic centralism, he recommended that the rights of autonomy and self-government he granted to local educational organs. Among these rights he held to be

freedom to arrange educational curricula, the selection and removal of teachers, and the like (16: 1917). This was not a part of the 1903 programme.

The programme of 1903 demanded the prohibition of child labor up to 16 years and the restriction of the working day for minors (16-18 years) to six hours (5: 1903). Lenin increased this demand by raising the legal age of minors from 18 to 20 years, and by limiting their working day to four hours only. In addition, he demanded that in many industries injurious to health and in night work the employment of minors should be entirely prohibited. Such demands, if realized, were bound to improve the physical and intellectual state of a great number of young men and women. Besides, educational opportunities were extended to youth for whom schools and other educational institutions had to be established.

Lenin based his programme of 1917 on the educational theory of Marx and Engels. In addition to demands dictated by Russian conditions and therefore extended by him, Lenin demanded a free, compulsory, completely secular, general and "polytechnic" school, and free supply to all students of food and other educational implements.

The February revolution raised the curtain on a new world of Marxist hopes and plans. With the October revolution, those plans were first put in practice. But in accordance with the new conditions, the principles on which they were based underwent further development and ramifications. The actual situation, as seen by Lenin, the leader and engineer of the socialist state, forced him to clarify some dubious places in the socialist theory. Experience called for more searching examination of the theoretical background in order to bring more unity between thought and action, between theory and practice.

Chapter Eleven

LENINISM: REVOLUTION PRINCIPLES IN EDUCATION *(continued)*

Bourgeois Culture and Skill, needed for Proletarian Education

BEFORE the revolution "human intellect, man's genius, created for one purpose only—to present all the blessings of technique and culture to one class" and to deny the most essential education to another. Thus spoke Lenin in 1918 of pre-revolutionary times.[354] With the revolution carried out, the time had come for socialist construction. For this construction the new state needed specialists trained and educated in all branches of modern techniques, the arts and the sciences. However, as Lenin pointed out, such specialists were produced before the revolution by and for the bourgeoisie only. In 1919, he said: "We have bourgeois specialists, and no others. We have no other bricks to build with. Socialism must be victorious and we socialists and communists must prove that we are capable of building socialism from these bricks . . . one must take the culture left by capitalism and from that culture build socialism. . . . Such is the problem in all domains, as contradictory a problem as capitalism itself, the ex-

tremely difficult but still solvable problem. . . . We have to build not twenty years later, but now in two months, in order to withstand the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois science and the technique of the world."[855] A purely communist generation, trained and educated by the toiling classes and for them only, was to emerge later, probably in twenty years. For the time being, therefore, socialism was to be built by specialists left over from the old order. The present emergency required that the toilers should "with their mass-weight force the bourgeois specialists to serve[856] the new order." This was considered by Lenin a difficult task but most necessary in order to assure the success of socialist construction.

From the viewpoint of education, this problem has several phases. First, to appropriate whatever was valuable in capitalist science and culture, to become hard-working pupils of the bourgeois specialists. Second, to retain, in the process of learning, those proletarian "elements" most necessary for the preservation of a proletarian state or order. Third, from the combined process of appropriation of whatever was valuable and the subsequent proletarianization of the product, to build those pertinent reserves of knowledge essential for the new order. Fourth, parallel with the omnipresent socialist industrial and technical construction, to "nurture" a new generation of "pure" communist specialists within twenty years—"the first generation of stainless and irreproachable communists."

It seems that those on whom such a many-sided objective was made mandatory were not prepared for such an educational undertaking. Lenin conceded that the educational qualifications of the communist "educators" at that particular moment were meagre, but were nevertheless valuable. "We have, at best, the science of the agitator, the propagandist, the men experienced in the dev-

ilish hardship of a factory worker or hungry peasant,—a science which teaches us to hang on, to be persistent in struggle, and which has saved us up to present. All this is essential."[357]

To secure the actual success of the socialist construction, Lenin in 1920 called for an educational union of the representatives of science, technique, and the proletariat. "No dark power could withstand the union of the representatives of science, the proletariat, and technique,"[358] he said. In 1922, Lenin also appealed for a union with the non-communistic materialists. "For the success of the serious revolutionary work, it is necessary to understand and realize that revolutionaries are capable of playing their part only as an *advance guard* of the really creative and advanced class. . . It is our categorical duty to attract for mutual work, in the struggle against philosophic reaction and philosophic superstitions of the so-called 'educated society', all partisans of consistent and warring materialism."[359]

The revolutionary pioneers were the vanguard of the future communist society. The vanguard had brought the revolution but by themselves could not bring it to completion. To do this it was necessary to effect an educational union of the proletariat with the bourgeois specialists, the representatives of arts and sciences, and the non-communistic materialists.

Not only was Lenin in favor of taking over bourgeois cultures, of a union with bourgeois specialists and with non-communist materialists in the interests of the Revolution, but, conversely, he opposed the cultural and educational segregation of the workers from the remainder of society in the "transitory" period. How could a revolution, which aimed at the ultimate establishment of a classless society, deliberately turn from its path and make permanent a proletarian class? This, Lenin declared,

must not occur, and he therefore attacked the so-called "Proletarian Culture" movement.[360] In his work, "On Proletarian Culture" (1920), Lenin offered the following arguments:

1. In the Soviet Labor-Peasant Republic the conduct of the educational process, in both politics and the arts, should be permeated with the spirit of the class-struggle of the proletariat for the successful realization of its dictatorship aims: the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, elimination of classes, abolition of exploitation of man by man.
2. Therefore, the proletariat, represented by its vanguard, the communist party, as well by the whole mass of the various proletarian organizations, *must take the most active and prominent part in all branches of the people's education.*
3. The experience of recent history and especially of the more than half-century-old struggle of the proletarians of all lands since the appearance of the *Communist Manifesto,* have proven absolutely that only the Marxian world outlook is the right expression of the interests, point of view, and culture of the revolutionary proletariat.
4. Marxism becomes historically important to the world as an ideology of the revolutionary proletariat, because it did not throw overboard the most valuable conquests of the bourgeois epoch. On the contrary it Marxism, has appropriated and elaborated on all that which is most valuable in the more than two-thousand-years-old development of human thought and culture. Only further work on this basis and in this direction, in spirit (practically) by the experience of the proletarian dictatorship, as their last struggle against any exploitation, may be recognized as the development of real proletarian culture.[361]

Education is a social process in the life of the race, and not of a particular social class only. In the first stage of communism, in the "transitory" period, there was still the task of the elimination of classes. The building of a separate proletarian culture was a poor *modus operandi* to combat the surviving remnants of an opposition. It was imperative, therefore, that the proletarian class or groups should most actively participate in the general educational activity of the race as a whole.

Marxism aims at the appropriation of culture, the knowledge and skills accumulated by the human race, and at the further development of that intellectual and technical heritage. Under the proletarian dictatorship, envisaged by Marxism, this heritage would be elaborated and further developed in the interests of the toilers In the second stage of communism, in the classless society, and only then, education would be "real proletarian," which is communist, i.e. classless. Thus, under the influence of Marxism, a new culture will emerge from the bourgeois culture, which through a process of appropriation, elaboration, and development, will become in the new society, finally classless, a real expression of the communist achievement.

Changing Educational Objectives with Changing Needs

If this process of apropriation, elaboration, and application were to be effective, if it were to be successful in a dynamic revolution with all its accompanying momentous changes, it would have to be elastic and able to conform to rapidly changing conditions. With changing conditions, new objectives would have to be set to achieve immediate ends; and these ends, once realized, would

create new situations which again would have to be met by a new expedient. It was no more than an application of Lenin's principle of the unity of theory and practice. Theory directs practice, but the exigencies of the moment must change theory for the sake of immediate ends.

In 1918, after the "expropriation of the ex-propriators," the immediate problem was to raise production under socialized conditions. On the one hand, Russia's natural resources were limitless; on the other, the general backwardness, lack of education and of knowledge of the application of modern technical implements made the exploitation of the riches of the soil an extremely difficult task. Lenin's educational objectives were, therefore, directed to overcoming this handicap. Emphasis was placed upon modern technical education to make possible the scientific exploitation of Russia's limitless resources. In fact, his efforts in this direction were continued in the years to come.[362]

In 1919 Lenin included in his objectives general educational work, especially among the masses, organized cultural activities conducive to self-expression and appreciation of culture. He demanded the further development of the self-activity of workers and the toiling peasants in the realm of education, with full support of the Soviet government.[363]

In 1920, near the end of the Civil War, the problems of illiteracy and political education drew his attention. In fact, both objectives were bound together: one could not educate politically an illiterate people. All available means, and new agencies, had to be utilized for the attainment of these objectives. The Marxian principle of the "combination of education with productive labor" was applied now by Lenin on the adult level. As the number of socialized industrial enterprises grew in size, they were to be organized as centres of education, in ac-

cordance with Lenin's principle of the unity of theory with practice."[864]

In 1921 Lenin turned his attention to the education of the agriculturists. The non-cooperation of the Russian peasantry with the state, the shortage of food, and recurring famines, Lenin ascribed to a great extent to the prevailing illiteracy and ignorance of the peasantry. Hence, he reminded the Soviet educational organs of the necessity of liquidating illiteracy among the peasantry with this definite objective: the ideological proletarianization of the poor peasant class, and the application of their new information from the printed word to the daily problems of life in a proletarian state.[865]

In 1923 he demanded the improvement of scientific education. In the work "Better Less, but Better" Lenin stated: "For the renewal of the state apparatus we must set as our objective: first to study; second, to study; third, to learn and then verify this learning in order that science should not remain with us a dead letter or a stylish phrase but, it should really penetrate our skin and blood. . ."[866] Thus, scientific education, experimentation, and the application of science to the daily problems of socialist construction were the objectives set by Lenin in 1923.

An educated people would need educated leaders, who could be found only in the revolutionary vanguard which had led the revolution. But with the revolution carried out, a new responsibility rested on that vanguard—a responsibility for which it must be educated. Hence, the educational objectives had to be changed from that of making a revolution for the new society to that of actually constructing and building that society. Such a shift in objectives was to be carried out in harmony with Lenin's idea of the "unity of theory and practice."

During the years 1918-1920, Lenin set down a series of objectives which were to guide the education of the revolutionary vanguard through the period of transition in preparation for the classless society.

The revolutionary vanguard had to be educated for communist social labor, labor not as a duty or for pay, but as a spontaneous service for the community's good. "All for one and one for all" should replace the rule of "each for himself, and one God for all."[367] Through education, the vanguard had to be freed from bourgeois prejudices and conceptions of freedom, equality, democracy, if these conceptions operated against the liberation of labor from capitalist oppression.[368] The political education of the vanguard had to be continued, but within a communist frame of reference, as opposed to bourgeois so-called "apolitical" education. All education *is* political.[369]

The vanguard had to be trained in new habits, new modes of thinking for transformation into the new leadership of the approaching socialist society.[370] They had to be prepared for communist educational leadership. The whole party and each member had to be trained to lead and guide to action in accordance with the principles of communism.[371] Lenin demanded that the vanguard be trained to develop mass enthusiasm for socialist construction and production, that they be educated to develop socialist competition.[372] He stressed the educational value of competition for the development of initiative and various kinds of production. Socialist competition should, therefore, be organized *en masse,* with the greatest number of competitors in the greatest number of undertakings.

To facilitate the development of such leadership, Lenin proposed the establishment of special scholarships to enable members of the party as well as of the poor prole-

tariat and peasantry to enter higher educational institutions.[373]

Many of the objectives set for the education of adults and communist leaders were also incorporated by Lenin, in 1919, in the aims of the Soviet school, and education of youth.

Again, he reasserted and reemphasized the need for polytechnic education of children based on socially useful labor.[374] In addition, he stressed the importance of professional education for adolescents (and adults) linked with general polytechnic education.[375]

But the most important pronouncement on the character and far-reaching objective of the school was made by Lenin when he declared that "the school should become a weapon of the proletarian dictatorship, not only leading in communist principles, but also serving as a guiding ideal, administrative, and educational influence of the proletariat on semi-proletarian and non-proletarian classes of the toiling masses. Thus, the school should lead in the interest of suppression of the exploiters and the realization of the communist society."[376] Thus, Lenin urged the utilization of education as a mighty "weapon" for the preparation of communist administrators and educators who should lead the masses in the "realization of the communist society." In the transitory period Lenin wished the school to become an instrument of defense and offence: to defend the proletarian dictatorship and destroy its enemies; to protect the proletarian class dominating state and to combat the bourgeois dominating state—all in order to affect statelessness in the final stage.

Education as the Weapon

The preceding declaration on the purpose of the school as the weapon of the proletarian dictatorship became the *Leitmotif* in the communist theory of education. The Communist party included this declaration in its program of 1919 and with it nearly all of Lenin's educational objectives.[377]

FIGURE III

Lenin's Educational Platform Compared with that of the Party

Lenin's Draft, 1919 (L 1919)	*Program of the Party, 1919 (P 1919)*
1. Further development of workers and toiling peasants in the realm of education, with full help of the soviet government.	12 (7) General state assistance to self-education and the intellectual development of workers and peasants (creation of a system of institutions for education outside of the schools, such as libraries, schools for adults, peoples' palaces and universities, courses of lectures, cinemas, studies, etc.).
2. Final control not only of a part or the most of the teachers, as at present, but of all teachers in the sense of uprooting the irreparable bourgeois counter-revolutionary elements and the ensuring of conscientious realization of communist principles; (politics).	

Lenin's Draft, 1919 (L 1919)	*Program of the Party, 1919 (P 1919)*
7 (or add 2.?) To establish a close contact between teachers with the propaganda apparatus of the Russian Communist Party.	
3. Realization of free, compulsory general and polytechnic (familiarizing in theory and practice with all main branches of production) education for all children of both sexes up to 16 years of age.	12 (1) The introduction of free and compulsory general and technical education (instruction in the theory and practice of the principal branches of production) for all children of both sexes up to the age of 17.
4. Realization of a full combination of instruction with children's socially productive labor.	12 (3) Full realization of the principle of a uniform industrial labor school with instruction in the native language, with co-education for children of both sexes, free from religious influence; a school where teaching is closely connected with socially useful labor and which prepares members of a communist society.
5. Provision, at the state's expense, of all pupils with food, clothing and school supplies.	12 (4) The supply of all pupils with food, clothes, boots and school appliances at the cost of the state.
6. To enlist the toiling population for active participation in the sphere of the people's education (development of councils of peo-	12 (6) Bringing of the toiling masses to take an active part in educational work (the development of councils of public education,

Lenin's Draft, 1919 (L 1919)	*Program of the Party, 1919 (P 1919)*
ple's education; mobilization of educated people, etc.	mobilization of educated people, etc.).
[add.] 1. Polytechnic education for adolescents and adults; the development of professional education in connection with polytechnical knowledge.	12 (8) Spreading on a large scale of professional education for persons from the age of 17, in connection with polytechnical knowledge.
[add.] 2. Self-activity of children in the school.	
[add.] 3. *Creches,* and the like.	12 (2) The establishment of a system of pre-school instruction: nurserics, kindergarten, homes, etc., to improve the social development of women and assist in their emancipation.

Lenin's suggestion on pre-school education ([add.] 3 L 1919) was broadened by the Party to a clear-cut demand for the establishment of a system of pre-school institutions where working mothers could leave their babies and infants under the supervision of trained nurses and teachers. The emancipation of women was considered greatly facilitated by this measure.

In relation to adult education (1 L 1919) the party formulated the various means by which a broad adult education could be undertaken (12 (7) P 1919). Although some social legislation which would facilitate the education of adolescents was proposed in the programs of 1903 and 1917 (5: 1903, 1917) the program of 1919 went further and indicated a number of direct

measures for the education of adults. In addition, the program of 1919 provided for professional education. Lenin's formulation of professional education for adolescents and adults ([add.] 1 L 1919), was defined by the party as "professional education for persons from the age of 17" (12 (8) P 1919). This demand went far beyond the programs of 1903 and 1917. The program of 1903 demanded "professional education for *all children* of both sexes to 16 years of age" (14: 1903); Lenin's draft of 1917 changed this to polytechnic education (14: 1917) Both (1903 and 1917) programs were defective. The first would change the schools into trade schools and would require early specialization. Lenin saw this defect and in his 1917 program, he substituted polytechnic for professional education up to 16 years of age, but he omitted the demand for professional education for persons above 16. This was ratified in the program of 1919.

The party subscribed to Lenin's demands for polytechnic education (3, 4 L 1919) and elaborated on them in full (12 (1), 12 (3), P 1919). It raised the age level of polytechnic education to 17, after which it would be followed by professional education (add. 1 L 1919 and 12 (8) P 1919). The program of 1919 reiterated (12 (3) P 1919) some principles of the previous programs, such as secularization of the school (13: 1903, 1917), and the right to use the native tongue (8: 1903, 1917).

In accordance with the declaration on communist purpose that the school should educate and prepare "members of a communist society," it was recommended that measures be taken against those educators who did not fall in line with that policy. Following Lenin, the party (2, 7 L 1919) took not only a firm stand against noncommunist teachers, but demanded the training of new teachers "imbued with the ideas of communism" (12 (5) P 1919). Although Lenin tried to enlist the cooperation

of specialists left from the old regime,[878] his attempts were not always successful. The preparation of new teachers devoted to the new order became a matter of primary importance.

The party incorporated in full (12 (4) P 1919) Lenin's demands (4 L 1919) for the provision of food and school implements for *all* pupils, a demand included in his draft of 1917 (15: 1917), but lacking (provision of food and school implements for poor children only) in the 1903 programme (14: 1903). Like Lenin, the party subscribed to the importance of the participation of the population in educational affairs and urged the establishment of local councils on education (6 L 1919 and 12 (6) P 1919). There was, however, one educational principle on which the party program remained completely silent, namely "self-activity of children in the school" (add. 3 L 1919).

In addition, the party demanded "the full realization of the principle of a uniform labor school" which began to take shape in 1918.[879] This Uniform Labor School was to be subdivided into several divisions[880] according to ages given by Marx in his instruction to the delegates to the Geneva Congress in 1866.[881]

"General" and "Polytechnic" Education

Marx's "Great Principle" Leninized

The establishment of polytechnic education presented many difficulties, a fact which became apparent to Lenin in 1920.[882] On the one hand, after four years of participation in World War I and the subsequent civil strife the country was pauperized. On the other hand, the country had embarked on an ambitious socialized indus-

trial construction. On the one hand, the educational plans called for a combination of a general and polytechnic education requiring an enormous expenditure and a long period of training and schooling. On the other hand, the immediate economic reconstruction, to be successful, required at once a corps of skilled masters in the various trades and crafts. It seemed, therefore, that a substitution of one of the constituent educational elements, monotechnic or professional-polytechnic for general polytechnic, or *vice versa* would be unavoidable.[383]

Faced with these difficulties, Lenin projected a solution consistent with Marxian[384] and Communist party principles.[385] Reasserting these principles and the determination to realize them in the future, Lenin found it necessary to make concessions for the present, in the interests of the Soviet republic. "The extremely difficult economic condition of the republic demand at this moment the unconditional and immediate amalgamation of the school's second division (ages 12 to 17) with the professional and technical schools: the transformation of the second division into professional and technical schools. Simultaneously, care should be taken that this transformation should not result in the creation of a trade school. One must establish the following exact rules:

1. To avoid early specialization. On this instructions should be elaborated.
2. To widen in all professional and technical schools the subjects of general education. . .
3. To take measures for the immediate transition to polytechnic education, or to be more exact, for the immediate realization of those steps to polytechnic education which are now possible."[386]

How strong were the immediate needs of the state in

skilled labor, one could judge from the concluding words of Lenin in the same work: "This is all-important, We need carpenters, locksmiths *at once. Unconditionally,* all must become carpenters, locksmiths, and the like, but with a definite addition of an educational (general) and polytechnic minimum."[387]

To clarify his position on "polytechnic education," Lenin, in the directions given to communist-workers in the Commissariat of Education in 1921, stated the following: "The Party should consider the lowering of the age-norm for general and polytechnic education from 17 to 15 exclusively as a temporary practical necessity, called forth by the poverty and desolation of the country which resulted under the pressure of wars imposed upon us by the Allies."[388]

Thus, the "temporary practical necessity" called for:

a. the amalgamation of the higher grades (ages 13 or 14 and up) of the second division of the unified labor school with the professional and technical schools[389] and
b the lowering of the age (from 17 to 15) at which general-polytechnic should pass into monotechnic or, to use Lenin's term, professional-polytechnic education.

In four years, then, great changes took place in the setting of the age norms for polytechnic education. Lenin's program of 1917 set the age for polytechnic education up to 16 years. Two years later, in 1919, Lenin for the first time demanded free professional education connected with polytechnic for adolescents and adults. In the same year, the party elaborated on this, providing polytechnic education up to 17 and professional beyond that age. In 1921, Lenin clarified his distinction between general-polytechnic and professional-polytechnic education. The

economic conditions of the country forced him, "as a temporary measure," to lower to 15 years of age the limit at which general-polytechnic education should pass into professional-polytechnic.

The "practical necessity" called for an immediate formulation of the general goal and objectives[390] of this second division of the unified labor school. Hence Lenin wrote: "The objectives of the schools of the second division [the general-polytechnic and the professional-polytechnic] are: to prepare one who knows his business completely and is fully capable of becoming a master, a cabinet maker, carpenter, locksmith, or the like; practically ready for mastership with the distinction, however, that this artisan receives a broad general education, a minimum foundation in certain sciences; he should be a communist; he should orient himself polytechnically and have the bases of a polytechnical education, i.e.: a basic understanding of electricity; the application of electricity to mechanical industry; to chemical industry; the electrification of the R.S.F.S.R.; one to three visits to an electrical station, factory, or sovkohz; basic knowledge of agronomy and of similar matters."[391]

These were Lenin's final views on "polytechnical education," written as comments on Krupskaya's theses on the same topic. In 1921, he expressed himself against further general "discussion." He appealed for a "revaluation of the practical experiment for the purpose of systematic utilization of its results."[392]

Evaluation and Re-evaluation Essential

The modifications initiated by Lenin in "polytechnic education" were followed by other concessions. Economic conditions of the country necessitated further cuts in the

ambitious educational programme. In 1923 Kurpskaya conceded that the Narcompros, Commissariat for the People's Education, for financial reasons, should not undertake to realize the slogans of 1919: the education of all the children of the republic "from 3 to 17 years." "The Narcompros thought that the state should supply them [children from 3 to 17 years of age] food; clothing; to nurture them in children's communal houses and the like. Life has proven that at this moment this is an herculean task for the state. What the state may, should and is obliged to do,—is to establish the necessary net of children's homes for the homeless children."[393]

Lack of funds, she continued, had not only brought poor provision of pre-school education, it had resulted also in the lack of the most essential equipment for the kindergartens. "One must not dream at present of well-equipped mass-kindergartens; one must be concerned with realizing kindergartens of the most elementary type."[394]

She admitted that the school had not succeeded as yet in "linking up with life, particularly in strengthening its ties with the pioneer and komsomol movements."[395]

As Krupskaya was Lenin's wife and his closest collaborator, one may assume that these facts were known to Lenin. In fact, Krupskaya's evaluations may have been to Lenin a "revaluation of the practical experiment for the purpose of systematic utilization of its results."

Part 5

Post-Leninism

Chapter Twelve

SOME ASPECTS OF EDUCATION AFTER LENIN

The Organized and Unorganized Aspects of the Educational Process

WITH the death of Lenin, in 1924, the most important chapter in the recent development of Marxian educational theory was brought to a close. This does not mean that since his death work of a philosophical importance has not appeared from the pen of Soviet educationists. It does mean, one must state, that Marx and Engels, the founders of the school and Lenin who elaborated and extended upon it to comply with conditions of Russian reality, were the great theorists who provided the basis for the recent Marxian education.

The fact that the educational theory of the post-Lenin period has been of recent origin and that it is still in the process of unfolding, make it extremely difficult to analyze the post-Leninist movement and the divergent trends of educational thought represented in it. It is difficult, too, to secure material on the subject—for relatively little is available here. Moreover, under conditions of Soviet political life, it may be that not all shades of edu-

cational thinking, even those claiming a Marxian basis, may come to expression. In such a situation, an attempt of a complete analysis would meet so many obstacles as to make such an undertaking extremely hazardous.

After Lenin's death in 1924, his legacy was taken over by his followers and many young Soviet educators. A great majority of them attempted to follow in the footsteps of the great teacher. But here again the dynamic changes in the new Russian life were accompanied by great educational successes and lamentable shortcomings.

The successful achievements, on the one hand, convinced some Leninists that a full realization of Marxian-Leninist ideas was practically feasible. These Leninists, therefore, interpreted the matter too literally and were eager to put Lenin's teachings to the test irrespective of difficulties and obstacles. On the other hand, many were realistic enough to see the actuality and to see Lenin's legacy in terms of prevailing Soviet conditions. In fact, the latter were ready to accuse the former of non-realism, in neglecting the real needs of the revolution; they saw in the writings of the former potential dangers for a counter-revolution.

There were manifold problems in the educational theory stemming from Leninism. Only a few are given here selected as important in general and as having a direct bearing on the preceding material.

Unquestionably, the economic changes and the social upheaval in Russia have had beneficial effects on the cultural status of the population. In fact, it seems as if the revolution had awakened and brought to life a new people with a genuine desire for more, better, and higher education. In a country where inertia, hopelessness, and resignation were in the saddle, such a conspicuous metamorphosis has naturally been an object of special study by Soviet educators.

As the revolution grew older, with many educational plans on the road to realization, some Soviet educators were ready to ascribe these achievements, in large measure, to the broad enthusiasm and latent potentialities of the masses which found their expression in "Soviet democracy." This conclusion, simple as it seems, raised the question of the primacy of the school in the educational process.

In the Soviet educational circles, the problem arose as to which aspect of the educational process—organized education, as given in the various institutions, or unorganized education, which takes place outside of educational institutions—was of more importance for socialist construction.

The Withering Away of the School

V. N. Shul'gin, director of the Marx-Engels Institute for Pedagogy, which was dissolved in 1931, considered organized education as a complement to "spontaneous" education. "The masses learn from their own experience," Shul'gin quoted from Lenin to support his contention. According to Shul'gin, the school was only an organized institution for the fostering of that more important educational process which takes place in life spontaneously.[396] Furthermore, Shul'gin and his followers considered the school as a provisional institution destined, in socialist society, to wither away, like the state.[397] Shul'gin taught that the Socialist environment, at a certain stage of the "transitory period," would take the place of the school.[398] "In my opinion, there will be no schools in the future communist society. Children will go at once to social work; there will be no teachers, but a director who will be a cultured man and capable of ap-

proaching the children. To be more exact, all will be pedagogs. From social work* the child will go to industrial enterprises, and from there to the library where he will find the answers to the problems which are of interest to him. We come nearer and nearer to this."[399]

The Interplay between Organized and Unorganized Education

It must be noted that this view met with the opposition of the leading Soviet pedagogs. Shul'gin's theory of the "withering away of the school" was termed by most Soviet theorists anarchical and non-Marxian.[400] Organized education was considered by Lenin the most essential weapon for the building of a communist society. On the other hand, these Soviet theorists considered unorganized education to be in conflict with organized education in a given society, capitalist or transitory. S. M. Freedman, a Soviet educator, considered some aspects of unorganized education as counter-active to the "conscious measures" undertaken by the Soviet state which are aimed at the withering away of the state. The following figure,** adapted from Freedman, will clarify this:

The omnipresence of unorganized education was acknowledge by Soviet educators. Its importance in the transitory period, on the one hand, was felt to be that of unorganized superstructure on the socialized material foundation. This was admittedly positive, but it lacked the organized mass-effort of a good means towards the socialist end. On the other hand, some of the unorganized education was distinctly detrimental to the socialist course. It was the aim of organized education to direct and include within itself the positive "spontaneous" edu-

* Voluntary civic and social participation of youngsters in community life.
** See Figure IV on page 157.

FIGURE *IV*

The Interplay between Organized and Unorganized Education[401]

Capitalist Society	*The Transitory Period*
Action:	Action:
1. Unorganized "spontaneous" education in a bourgeois or petty bourgeois environment, based on capitalist production and social relations.	1. Unorganized education in proletarian environment, based on socialist construction and soviet social relations.
2. Organized education by the state parties and professional unions, under the influence of the bourgeois parties, the army, and the like.	2. Organized education by the state, unions, party, army and the like.
3. Organized educationol process directed by the church.	3. Expression of soviet societal living.
Counter Action:	Counter Action:
1. Unorganized education is the proletarian environment (exploitation, class-struggle, wars, and the like).	1. Unorganized education forthcoming from petty-bourgeois environment, illegal counter-revolutionary parties and capitalist elements.
2. Organized education by the socialist elements.	2. Organized education by the "remnants," elements of the pre-soviet society and the like.

cational elements in order to withstand the onslaught of the counter-active elements. All education was to be organized and consciously directed towards the building of socialism. In order to direct the educational process, one had to know the general laws of its movement.

The Nature of the Educational Process, and Its Dialectics

According to Freedman, contemporary scientific disciplines submit on the one hand to a general methodology of the sciences, "and on the other to a methodology characteristic of the particular disciplines.[402] Thus, the general methodology is dialectical materialism; the natural sciences, however, submit to the dialectics of nature, one aspect of the general methodology. The social sciences submit to another aspect of the general methodology—to historical materialism.[403]

To classify education as one member of a particular group of sciences presents some difficulties, Freedman pointed out. The educational process is co-ordinate with, and therefore requires a scientific knowledge of, both biological and social factors. The biological factors, in a sense, may delimit the frontier of educational "intervention"; they may determine to what extent and how a given behavior is a result of the natural developmental process, and to what extent this behavior is a result of social interaction. Thus, Freedman concluded, education is a socio-biologic discipline, and as such it submits to the general methodology of dialectical materialism.

Dialectically, the state is interested in the educational process. The state is an instrument of a given class, and as such it regulates the educational process and defines its objectives. These objectives find their expression in

the ideological "superstructure" on the corresponding material basis of that particular state and in that historical epoch.

The question arises, Can education, an ideal expression of the material basis, be effective without "intervention?" The preceding discussion of the two aspects of the educational process, the organized and the unorganized, supplies the answer: to leave education to the "natural course of events" would be fatalistic. The state as a "purposive organization," according to Freedman and the renowned educator Kalashnikov, is conscious of the necessity of organizing and leading education for maximum effectiveness. To be effective, the educational objectives of the state are, therefore, formulated in compliance with the existing social organization.[404] These objectives, as Lenin pointed out, are incapable of being fulfilled when they contradict social reality. To avoid a conflict between the two aspects of the educational process, the organized and the "spontaneous," Kalashnikov declared, the successful formulation of the educational objectives must consider everything in the light of real conditions and real educational outcomes.

The changes in education in four forms of society, pre-class, class, transitory, and classless were represented by Kalashnikov in the following table (page 160).

The Retrospect and Prospect of Education in the Transitory Society

According to Kalashnikov, in the "pre-class-epoch," education was responding to social demands; to the social and productive structure of that epoch.[406] With the introduction of private property, in Epoch I (see Figure VI., p. 162), education began to reflect the class differentiation

FIGURE V

Educational Dialectics[405]

Society	Objectives	Relations between the unorganized and organized educational processes	Relation between the ideological and productive labor education	Basis of Education
Pre-class	Same for everyone in the social process.	Unorganized education supreme factor Organized education has a minor role.	Education presents a unity of the ideological and the productive.	Empirical, traditional, and conservative Technical education is rational
Class Society	Various objectives *corresponding to the* differentiation of society and its historical development	First the unorganized action *of environment is the foundation* for education. Organized education grows with general development and formation of classes	The ideological is opposed to productive labor education.	Changeable bases: from empirical to rational.
Transitory Society	Objectives of the workers' class: the gradual withering away of the state.	Organized education becomes gradually foundational and enforced Unorganized education loses in importance *and force*	Ideological education begins gradually to identify itself with production on the *basis of socially* useful labor	Rational forms of education are elastic and subject to change.
Classless Society	Same for all within the social process.	Unorganized education negligible. Organized education the main force	United process on the basis of organized, socially useful labor.	Precisely scientific; educational changes corresponding to changes in social needs.

of that society. Education received a class-character in the interests of Class "A." While in the pre-class epoch education represented a unity of ideology and labor, in the new class-society education was split into two parts: a minimum trade education for the exploited masses and a highly specialized professional education for the members of the ruling class. Not only was it a class education, Kalashnikov pointed out, but its particular form and content changed depending upon what particular social class was the ruling one at the time—chivalric, monastic, petty-bourgeois, and the like. In capitalist society, the class differentiation in education had developed to the greatest extent.[407] Therefore, the contradictions inherent in the capitalist foundation became strikingly manifest in its educational superstructure (Epoch II). These contradictions could be reconciled only through revolution.

After the revolution (Epoch III) and the revolutionary change in the foundation, class "B" established a new social relationship which manifested itself in the educational process. What are the prospects of education in this transitory society [Epoch IV]? Kalashnikov asked. He answered: "In the transitory society, the class-character of education in relation to the form, methods, object and subject of education will gradually wither away. The expression: "The state withers away" is chosen pertinently because it signifies both aspects of the withering process, the gradual and the spontaneous."[408]

Here it is clearly indicated that it is not the school but the class character of education, in all its aspects, which will disappear. Political intervention in education will disappear at some stage of the transitory society, on the threshold of the new classless society. Further, in the fully unfolded communist society (Epoch V), education will be "precise, scientific, and consequently really free."[410] Under commuinsm a "harmony" will be established between the interests of the individual and of so-

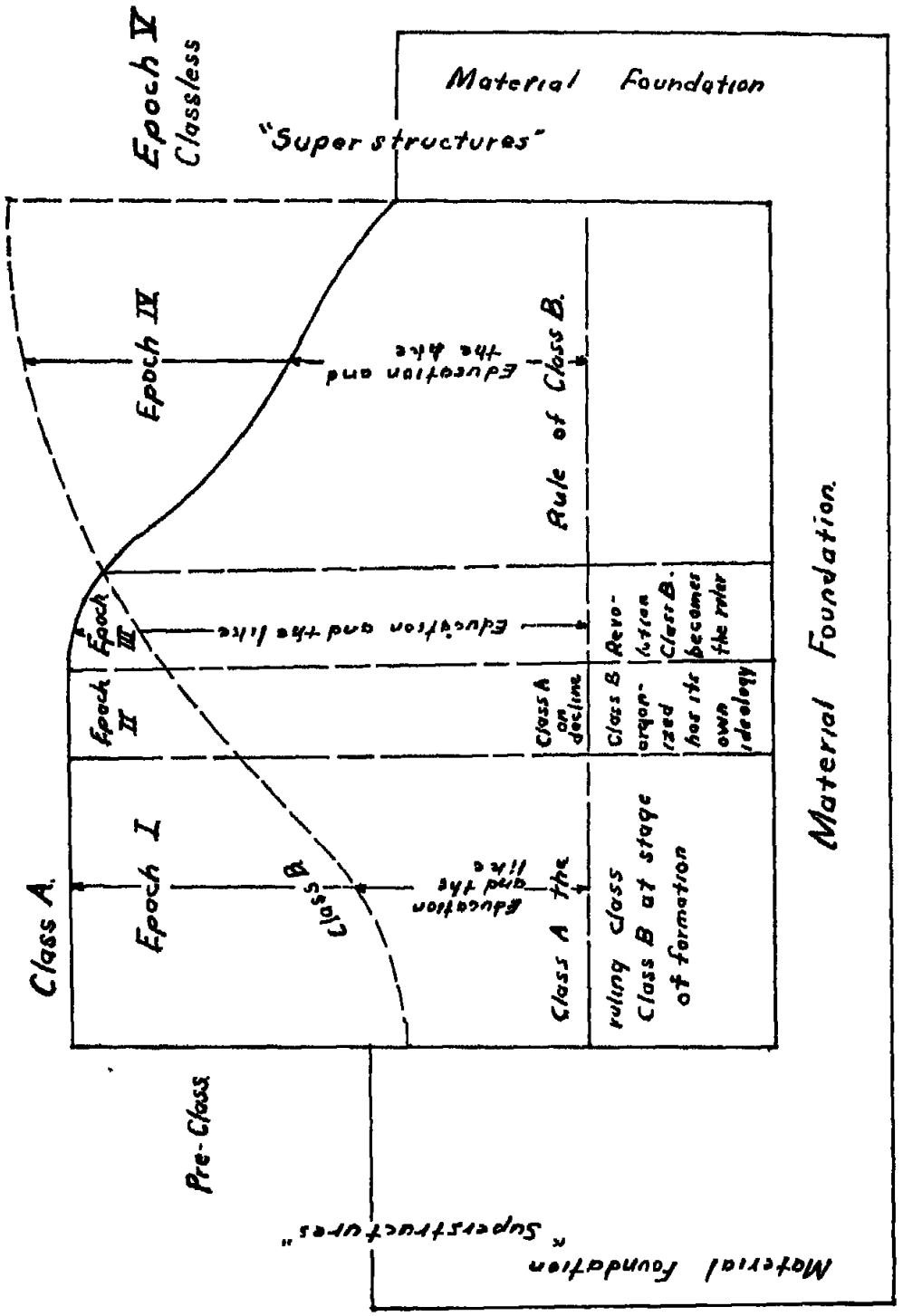


FIGURE VI
Historical Dialectics in Education[409]

ciety; also an harmonious union between the education for the future and the social labor education for the present."

Yet, despite warnings and pleas for moderation and practical approach to Soviet reality some spirits ran high. Critical situations began to arise in other areas of Soviet education, which required immediate attention from Soviet educators. One of the cores of Soviet education—polytechnism—also became a danger spot The attempts to "distort" polytechnism will be described in the following chapter, wherein other critical areas as well will be given consideration.

Chapter Thirteen

SOME ASPECTS OF EDUCATION AFTER LENIN
(Continued)

"Deviations" in Polytechnic Education

THE most important principle of Marxian education, the combination of education with socially useful labor or "polytechnism," has become the subject of divergent interpretations, for some time.

In retrospect, in 1918-19, when the school was short of technical employees "all works were fulfilled in communion by the children and the pedagogs."[412] Although this state of affairs was called forth by the extreme poverty and the lack of a proper administrative apparatus, the Soviet educators "attempted to make of this necessity, the manual and janitorial labor by the staff and pupils, a virtue; and endeavored (unsuccessfully) to build the whole system of education and *erziehung* on the principles of self-service."[413] The tenet of labor-education combination was interpreted by some Soviet pedagogs to mean that a "children's collective should fulfil all works connected with its life."[414] It took a genius like Lenin, whose mind was fertile and prolific in nearly all fields

of the socialist construction, to revive and keep abreast polytechnism, doctrinally, with Marxism.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, Lenin's widow, was a zealous devotee of Marxian education in the Soviet Union. Repeatedly, she argued that Soviet education was historically an inescapable result of Marxian theorizing in general, and especially in education. "The communist programme in the realm of the people's education is a development of the ideas of the First International, of the ideas of Marx, and was already included in its rudimentary form in the programme of the Russian Socialist Democratic Labor Party. Consequently, this program does not appear as something accidental, but represents ideas which were heretofore defended on an international scale, i.e., the Gotha programme. . . ."[415] This was an appeal to uphold orthodox Marxism in education, as reformulated by the Russian Communist Party in Article 12 of its 1919 programme.

As an educational leader, she saw in 1928 the manifold shortcomings in Soviet educational practice. "This problem [of Marxian education] put forward in 1919, continues to remain in its full force, for we have neither universal education, nor free education . . . and about polytechnic education one may speak only conditionally."[416] Outspoken in her admission of many failures in the peoples education, such as the liquidation of illiteracy, construction of schools, teacher training, and the like,[417] she appealed, first, for a better understanding of these problems and especially of polytechnism.

It was Krupskaya's belief that an intelligent understanding of a problem will necessarily bring its right solution. There was among teachers in 1928 a better understanding of polytechnism than in 1918-19. During the latter years, in each settlement, the teacher interpreted polytechnic labor in his own way. One teacher thought

that one should carry water; another taught that any labor will satisfy the polytechnic demand, and that it "should educate assiduity."[418] This lamentable state of polytechnism has changed for the better. For the theoretical explanation of the multiple forms of labor, educated workers in the pertinent branches of the national economy were invited by the schools to serve as lecturers.[419] The principle of socially useful labor was realized through the participation of children in communal sanitation, in pre-election campaigns, library work, and the like.[420] There was, however one aspect of polythenism which was lacking in the schools: "the instruction in practical labor experience. Poverty did not permit us to build workshops, there [was] a lack of premises, a want of equipment."[421]

Thus in 1928, Krupskaya accepted and should have been satisfied with the following aspect of polytechnism, if adopted by the Soviet School:

a. Theoretical acquaintance with various forms of labor, preferably explained by educated workers in the various fields of national economy.
b. Conscious participation of pupils in communal affairs which should lead to social betterment.
3. Training of pupils "in practical labor experience" in especially designed worshops presumably attached to the schools.

This was given further elaboration by the renowned Russian pedagog S. Shatzki, at the Conference of The International of Workers in Education in Leipzig, Germany, April 12, 1928. "We speak of the labor school not only as a school for intellectual labor, a school which applies physical labor as a method of teaching and establishes on its premises workshops for diverse manual labor; but as a labor school which should learn the labor activ-

ity of men in the Soviet land and abroad; that should appreciate and introduce the children, according to their powers and as far as they can gauge such problems, to the participation in the Socialist labor activity of the toiling population."[422] Shatzki thus subscribed to Krupskaya's interpretation of polytechnic education. Although Krupskaya did not formally include in her thesis the study by Soviet children of labor in foreign lands, one may be certain that she would certainly concur with Shatzki on that point. From the study of the theses of both educators one concludes that their views on polytechnism were perfectly similar.

Hence, the distinguished Soviet educator Kalashnikov defined polytechnic education as the "Organized education of children and adolescents, in the transitory period, in the interests of the workers' class; in the sense of combining heavy industry, including socially useful labor, with the educational plan of the school."[423] Polytechnic education, he continued, will change typically in the various stages of the transitory period.[424] The problem arose as to when polytechnic education should become universal. Shul'gin favored immediate universal provision for polytechnic education[425]. He saw in the growing industrial development of Russia, even in the agricultural districts, a ready foundation for developing the polytechnic school universally, immediately.[426]. Objections were raised by Soviet educationists[427] who indicated the following obstacles:

a. Prevailing contradictions at this stage of the transitory period.
 1. Contradictions still existing between city and country.
 2. Differences in the organization and technical methods and skills used in production in the various regions of the U.S.S.R.[428]

b. "Rentability," i.e. educational and financial returns, and the economic estimate of polytechnic, socially useful, education.

On this second point (b.), Kalashnikov stated: "The approach of education from a socio-philosophical category without consideration of the enormous dependence of its various forms on economics is still a basic weakness of Soviet pedagogy."[429] According to Kalashnikov, the Soviet pedagogy of the transitory period should study conditions as they really are and purposively plan and carry out education accordingly, with a view to the changing stages of the transitory society. "If the Marxian theory of the social process points to a general prognosis in this direction, the conscious understanding of education as a purposive changing of man towards raising of his social qualities as a universal productive force, compels us to subject all factors of education to a careful study."[480] In other words, the material basis, the social structure, the technical development, "rentability," and the needs of society, all condition education. These factors must be scrutinized in the light of the general Marxian prognosis and the specific state of affairs at the particular stage of the transitory society. Above all, the economic "foundation" must be included in any prospective approach to the transitory" education.

It was obvious, then, that polytechnism was the weakest part in the Marxist-Soviet education. As such it was easily detected and became subject to attack by various Soviet educators. It was to be expected that perplexities should arise from several angles. As shown previously, there is the difficulty of extracting a clear statement from Marx's works on the correct meaning of polytechnism, a clear cut statement that could withstand an attack from enemies and friends alike, and remain intact. Second, it

is a far cry from the economic foundation on which the "polytechnic superstructure" had to rest in Marx's times, or the economic foundation of the future "transitory" society which Marx could envisage, to the actual dynamically changing economic foundation of the Soviet transitory society. Therefrom, the difficulty to adjust a *balanced* polytechnic superstructure on a constantly changing material foundation. Third, there was the passionate disagreement between the Soviet "zealots" and the Soviet "realists." In the ensuing disequillibrium and struggle both sides accused each other of opportunism. Under such conditions the realization of an optimum form of polytechnism was imploratory.

Several attempts were made at the formulation of a philosophy of polytechnism which should be "scientific and consistently Marxian."

Under the pressure of the State planned industrialization and the consequent demand for skilled labor of which there was a visible shortage, some Soviet educators proclaimed that "no one may study who does not produce, does not labor and does not learn a trade. Such should be the principle of our school policy. We are set immediately for the creation of factory-schools and Sovkhoz-schools. In the next year these schools will give us hundreds of men of a definite qualification for our village economy and our industry."[431] This demand went beyond the polytechnism of Krupskaya and Shatzki. The new thesis demanded not workshops on school premises, but factory schools and schools based on collective agricultural economies, both types to be organized on a national scale. "There is no other way for the solution of the problems put forward by Lenin,"[432] was the conclusion reached by these educators.

Moreover, a "direct participation of children in pro-

ductive labor" was meaningful to those educators only when "one includes himself in the productive process in the capacity of a labouring force; only when one takes part in the process of production of valuables and surplus value, that which is the [real] process of production . . ."

Furthermore, "if the 'participation' of children is an organized one, earnest, and economically purposeful, then it is not clear why M. Pistrak does not want to *remunerate* the labor of children."[433] Meaningful polytechnism signified to these educators direct labor of children in factory or Savkhoz schools, where the children-laborers would be remunerated for the products manufactured by them. To add further justification to their demand it was pointed out that "the family of the workers is materially *interested* in the labor of the adolescent-scholar and it is the aim of the polytechnic school to satisfy this need—this is the first commandment for the school of the transitory period."[434]

According to Vaganian, the *Rabfacs* and FZU[435] were the basic types of the future polytechnic school. In addition, he indicated that Henry Ford's experiments with factory-schools should be instructive, for "on graduation from a school attached to a factory the worker has no claims on Ford. The former is satisfied with the way the latter has remunerated his labor . . . when he was under instruction . . . as well as after graduation when he [Ford] has placed him [the worker] in the factory. . . ."

Such theorizing met with the indignation and criticism of the Political Bureau of the Party. In distinction from Shul'gin's "left deviation" this school of thought advocated also a theory full of "rightist dangerous deviations" from the general Party line. Meanwhile, this school of thought in demanding the "amalgamation of the school and the factory," declared that this is "the chief link in

the amalgamation of intellectual and physical labor, and is consequently the most certain way of struggle with bureaucracy, toward the realization of Lenin's slogans under which we made the October revolution, the slogan that "each cook might govern the State."[436]

This cry against bureaucracy, under a Leninist banner, reviving the slogan of the October Revolution for a comprehensive Soviet democracy sounded like a revolution. It was short only of proclaiming the "permanent revolution"[437] on a universal scale to be identified with Trotskyism. It may be assumed unreservedly that Trotsky would oppose Shul'gin's theory of the "withering away of the school." The withering away of the school, a mighty weapon of the revolution, might have lead to the death of the latter. On the other hand, Trotsky was opposed to the ruling bureaucracy which in its desire for the stabilization of the revolution had given up many objectives of the Third International, the World Revolution included, and committed itself to the theory of Socialism in one country only. Hence any moderate stand, considering the Russian reality only, would be termed by the Marxian zealots as bureaucratic. On the other hand, this group in protesting against the "plenipotentiary bureaucracy," calling for a revolutionary revival and a *programme maximum* in polytechnism, was considered and fought by the ruling center as a Trotskyite.

Forces were accumulating then for a struggle, the consequences of which were in due time recorded in history. Meanwhile, Krupskaya saw the danger and called for moderation. "The successes of the country's industrialization made possible the polytechnization of the school. But this was a new undertaking demanding of the pedagogs a very earnest preparation of which they are often short. As a result there is unskillfulness to combine theory with practice; an imperceptible slide in the direc-

tion of ignoring theory, the underestimation of the latter. It is inadmissible, that labor should stand in the path of knowledge. This is a return to the old, it is a step backward."[488] To summarize, Krupskaya was confident that the industrialization of Russia has enhanced the polytechnization of the school. She was aware, however, of the difficulty of this undertaking for which intensive training and special preparation of the teachers was essential. The shortage of such preparation combined with the lack of a consistent philosophy which should result from and embody the Leninist principle of "Unity of Theory and Practice," led to the underestimation of theory, this ensuing in poor practice and *vice versa.* A special criticism was also directed by Krupskaya at the group demanding a *programme maximum* in polytechnization. To Krupskaya this *programme maximum* was responsible for overstress on labor, thereby diminishing the importance of the other constituent element of polytechnism, education, i.e., academic knowledge. This, she argued, was reactionary and thereby she aligned herself with the moderate centre.

The results therefrom were not lagging. Under the slogan of "Polytechnization of the School on a Higher Level" the Council of the Peoples Commissars of the RSFSR decreed the introduction of polytechnism as advocated by Schatzki and Krupskaya. The Council ordered, "that the Narcompros of the RSFSR establish during the year of 1932-33 . . . [at secondary schools] a network of shops and laboratories, and labor cabinets at each elementary school; to carry out within a month a wide public campaign for the reconclusion of contracts between the schools and the [proper] concerns, aiming at the inclusion in these contracts the obligation of these concerns to secure for the schools the [necessary] equip-

ment, instruments, school appliances, and other implements."[439]

The following were then "the basic elements of polytechnism"[440] in 1931, most of them familiar to the reader:

a. The combination of education with productive labor.
b. The acquaintance in theory and in practice with the fundamental forms of social production.
3. The scientific knowledge of the fundamental productive processes.
3. The acquisition of skills to deal with the basic instruments.

The workshops of the schools above the elementary level and the labor cabinets at the elementary schools were the media through which the schools were polytechnized. "It became the general assumption that not every productive labor is polytechnic" . . . and that "not every labor school is a polytechnic school."[441] For instance, a student who works, studies and learns *one* machine or *one* form of production only, does not thereby undergo polytechnic instruction. Polytechnic instruction should acquaint the student with *all* basic tools and forms of production. Likewise, a school offering instruction to its students in one branch of industry only, or one incapable to offer instruction in theory and in practice in all the basic forms of production and the basic instruments of contemporary labor, is not polytechnic. The status of such a school should be similar to that of a trade school.[442]

The Struggle Against Opportunism and Extremism in Education.

The year of 1931 marked the further solidification of the policies in education of the ruling centre led by

Stalin. Measures were taken to combat by all means the "right" and the "leftist" tendencies in education. "The opportunistic distortion of the Party's policy by the rightists lead to the resignation from the [realization of a] polytechnic school, to attempts of conserving the old verbal school, to the divorce between theoretical instruction and practice."[443]

In a similar voice were the pronouncements and the battle cry against the "leftist deviations": " . . . success in the struggle with the right danger in the school can be achieved only when we shall be able to prove a decisive opposition against the left opportunists. . . The 'left' opportunists invented the theory of the withering away of the school. . . It is they who have spread, on a mass scale, among all the schools the so-called "method of projects," according to which one must place in the school at the basis of all instruction the labor in the factory, in the shop, in the field, and the like; to study by and by indirectly with labor. Certainly, children in such manner cannot achieve much knowledge. It is clear that such a school does not conform to Lenin's legacy who said that 'one may become a communist only then, when one enriches his memory with the knowledge of those [intellectual] riches which were produced by humanity'."[444]

The plans for a *maximum programme* were thus condemned in the most severe terms and destined to oblivion. The party line was clarified in many ways and through numerous channels. The country was set for realization of polytechnism in compliance with the new official version.

A slight check on the state of polytechnism in a few far corners of the immense Soviet land verifies the assumption that the local organs for education were duly responsive to the Party's call.

At the educational conference in Penza, Siberia, in 1931 Kaganovitch found it necessary to repeat the pre-revolutionary warning, given by Lenin, to the students of the Russian political school on the island of Kapri: "no control, no programme are in a position to change a curriculum which is defended by the faculty or lecturers."[445] Presumably, the realization of an educational programme which should comply with the Party line was enhanced only when the teachers were "in line with the Party."

In relation to polytechnism, the semi-annual (1931-1932) report on the schools of the city of Penza emphasized the "correct 'production' of polytechnic education in the schools" of that city. The manner of instruction, formal contracting with various productive concerns, showed polytechnism of that district "to fall in line" with the policy of the Party.[446]

To avoid the danger of overstress, in the future, on one element only of polytechnism, there was need for the philosophy of polytechnic education to define its constituents, labor and education; to show the relationship between them; and, to indicate the indissolubility of the whole. Hence the signalization that "labor polytechnic training is a part of polytechnic education. Labor polytechnic training should offer the learners knowledge and practice . . . in the main branches of production . . . Polytechnic education without fail offers an acquaintance with the general scientific foundations of the productive process."[447]

It was to be expected that the Soviet school adopt this theoretical elaboration on polytechnism and apply this theory in actual school life. The *Berezovskaya Model School* of Novosibirsk U.S.S.R., reported the following in 1934. "One of the great achievements in the administration of labor-polytechnic education in the Beresovskaya

School was the fact that in the construction of a labor curriculum, the lesson became the fundamental form in the organization of school work."[448] With the lesson as a "fundamental form," one may follow how polytechnism in the same school was applied in practice. One reads that "the kitchen-garden, the garden, and the flower-bed offer the children an opportunity to apply their knowledge, acquired at school during the winter, in practice; to set experiments, to strengthen and apply in life their experience in drawing, pictorial arts, and measurement."[449] According to the Headmaster, Comrade Skorr of the Berezovskaya Model School, this was "one of our precious means for combining theory and practice; to enhance the pupil's labor habits; [to advance] the habits of searching and research."[450]

Pedology: The Pseudo Science.

Another problem, the relative importance of heredity and environment, has occupied the attention of recent Soviet educational thinkers. The particular science devoted to the study of this question was called "pedology" by Soviet educators.

According to the Soviet Professor Blonsky, "Pedology is the science of the chronological development of the child under conditions of a definite social-historical environment."[451] The Soviet Professor Bosov, defined pedology as "the scientific synthesis of all that presents the actual result of different scientific disciplines studying the developing human, each from its own approach."[452]

According to Professor Voskressensky, the definitions prove that pedology has no subject matter of its own.[453] He shows that this "pseudo-science" has appropriated the methods of bourgeois psychology and experimental ped-

agogy, an elucidation and practice contradictory to Marxism,[454] and that it has assigned itself an objective which has led to the splitting of the united pedagogical effort. "The pedologists had set for themselves the objective of studying the child and left for the pedagogs only the instruction of the child." Accordingly, the pedagog would be the "technician" and the pedologist the "technolog" of the pedagogical process.[455] This division of labor was necessarily bound to diminish the role of the teacher, an effect similar to that which would result from the "withering away of the school" theory.

What is the fundamental law of pedology which suddenly met such an opposition with Soviet educators?[456] The ordinance of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party of July 4, 1936, supplied the following answer: "The TZIK of the U.S.S.R. condemns the theory and practice of the contemporary, so-called, pedology. The TZIK of the U.S.S.R. takes the position that the theory and practice of the so-called pedology is founded on psuedo-scientific, anti-Marxist theses. To such theses belongs, first of all, the main "law" of contemporary pedology, the "law" of the fatalistic conditioning of the child's destiny by biological and stationary social factors, the influence of heredity and a sort of unchanging environment. This extremely reactionary law is in clamoring contradiction with Marxism and the whole practice of socialist construction, which re-educates men in the spirit of socialism and which liquidates the remnants of capitalism in economics and the consciousness of men."[457] Heredity, a factor in the child's physique and intelligence is also subject to change by the new socialistic environment, education, and man. The negative traits and those deteriorators inherited by birth are to be eradicated by the new dynamic social forces presenting creative opportunities to those who were formerly under-

privileged. The "fatalistic conditioning of the child by biological . . . factors" was most strongly repudiated by the Soviet pedagogy. Hence, the condemnation by the TZIK of those "pedologists who have had grouped masses of children in the category of the 'backward' transfering them from normal educational institutions to special auxiliary schools."[458]

In relation to environment, the latter especially under socialist conditions is under ceaseless pressure of the changing economics. This is in contradiction to Professor Dewey, to whom "the school should be based not on the future, but on the present; should be a part of the child's life. . . . That the school should limit itself to the present, shows the lack of a prospective by the bourgeoisie, its lack of confidence in the future, and its fear of that future."[459]

Similarly, Dewey's views of the school as an "organized society," his minimizing of the "leading role" of the teacher and placing of the child in the centre of the educational process, became the subject of vigorous attacks by the Soviet pedagogs. These views of Professor Dewey and those of "fatalistic heredity" were thrown overboard as anti-Marxian and leading to a *reductio ad absurdum,* the withering away of the school.

Equally condemned as "pragmatism," was "experimental pedagogy." Thorndike's and Binet's "experimentalism" were proclaimed as "unscientific and mechanistic . . . mechanistic interpretations of the psyche and *erziehung.*"[460]

Binet underwent the most criticism: "To what extent this [the Binet method] was unscientific, is proven by the following. In a study of pupils of what was formerly St. Petersburg in 1908-11, one scholar came to the terrifying conclusion, that 73 per cent of the children were backward as compared with the French children. Another, in a simultaneous study of the children in other schools of

St. Petersburg, came to the opposite conclusion, that Russian children were twice as intelligent as the children of the French."[461]

Without going into deeper consideration of the probable reasons accounting for this extreme differentiation in the conclusions of those psychological studies, it is interesting to read Professor Medynski's resumé on "tests and measurements" in the bourgeois order: "intelligence tests and achievement tests were made with such calculation, that the children of the indigent parents should appear as weakly endowed and non-achieving. Those tests claiming 'objective proofs' were in reality the means to enable the children of the bourgeois to continue their education . . . and to exempt the children of the toilers."[462] In other words, Professor Medynski would have suspected the psychologists of calculated manipulation of the tests in favor of the privileged, that the children of the higher socio-economic status should be able to pass these tests.

To summarize, Marxism denies the great importance attached to heredity in "bourgeois" psychology. Heredity, a factor to which bourgeois psychology attaches decisive importance in the child's intellectual endowment, is an artificially excessively manipulated concept, to enhance the opportunities of the well born to the detriment of the lower social strata. In relation to environment, the latter is a result of economics. A revolutionary change in the material basis necessarily affects the environment. When objective conditions are favorable to a change, the environment is also subject to conscious change and molding by men. "The educator can direct in any direction the consciousness and behavior of men; he can nurture new traits of behavior, character—and not only develop those already present."[463]

This faith in education, as a weapon for changing environmental forces and men (subject to revolutionary change in the economic base), gave great impetus to Soviet educational efforts. Steps were taken to consolidate Soviet education, in accordance with this thesis, on all age levels. The Soviet citizen, by force of education, was to become Soviet-conscious in theory as well as in practice—all in line with the main tenets of Marxism-Leninism.

Part 6

From Theory Toward Application

Chapter Fourteen

SOVIET EDUCATIONAL MEASURES AND PROVISION

Enactment of Educational Measures

THE Marxists—especially Marx, Engels and Lenin—took great pains to point out the necessity and inevitability of a social and economic change which would be followed by a new education freed from the contradictions imposed upon it by the capitalist system. In the new political and economic order brought about by the Russian revolution, all those changes forthcoming from the Marxist theory had to be put to test and into practice. For this, the legal enactment of programmes of action became necessary.

As has been shown, the theory of the withering away of the school was declared a doctrine contrary to Marxism. The theory of the withering away of the state was interpreted to mean that it was to be completed at the conclusion of the intermediary phase or at the beginning of the higher phase of communism. In order to prepare and effect this the government of the transitory society had to be invested with the necessary full strength and power. This was amplified by none less than Stalin: "The

highest development of government power for the purpose of preparing conditions for the withering away of the government power, this is the Marxian formula. This is contradictory, you'll say. Yes, it is, but this contradiction is life, and represents completely the Marxian dialectics."[464]

The investment of the government with such high power had to take place by decrees, i.e. by law. The new law became the expression of the new society in formation, a new superstructure on the new material basis. Following is the Marxian pronouncement on law. "Society is not based upon law; this is a juridical fiction. Just the reverse is the truth. Law rests upon society, it must be the expression of the general interests that spring from the material production of a given society." [465]

As in the case of education, law in the transitory society became a mighty weapon for the building of a new society.[466] Education in the transitory society was the weapon to build the future members of the new society, but this "transitory education' had to be brought into action by a "revolutionary legality." Thus, the law was to be of more importance in the transitory society than in any other political stage. Law had an ultimate far-reaching objective—to remodel the present transitory society in preparation for the classless society. It had to be applied immediately as an expression of the policy of the new order, the proletarian dictatorship.

The enactment of educational measures was of the same importance. If the material basis and its socialization was of primary importance, education as a force preparing the minds of the people for the coming of the complete socialized order was of equal value. The new educational laws, decrees, took the form of commands, which were vague rather than specific in the matter of details of the changes to be accomplished.

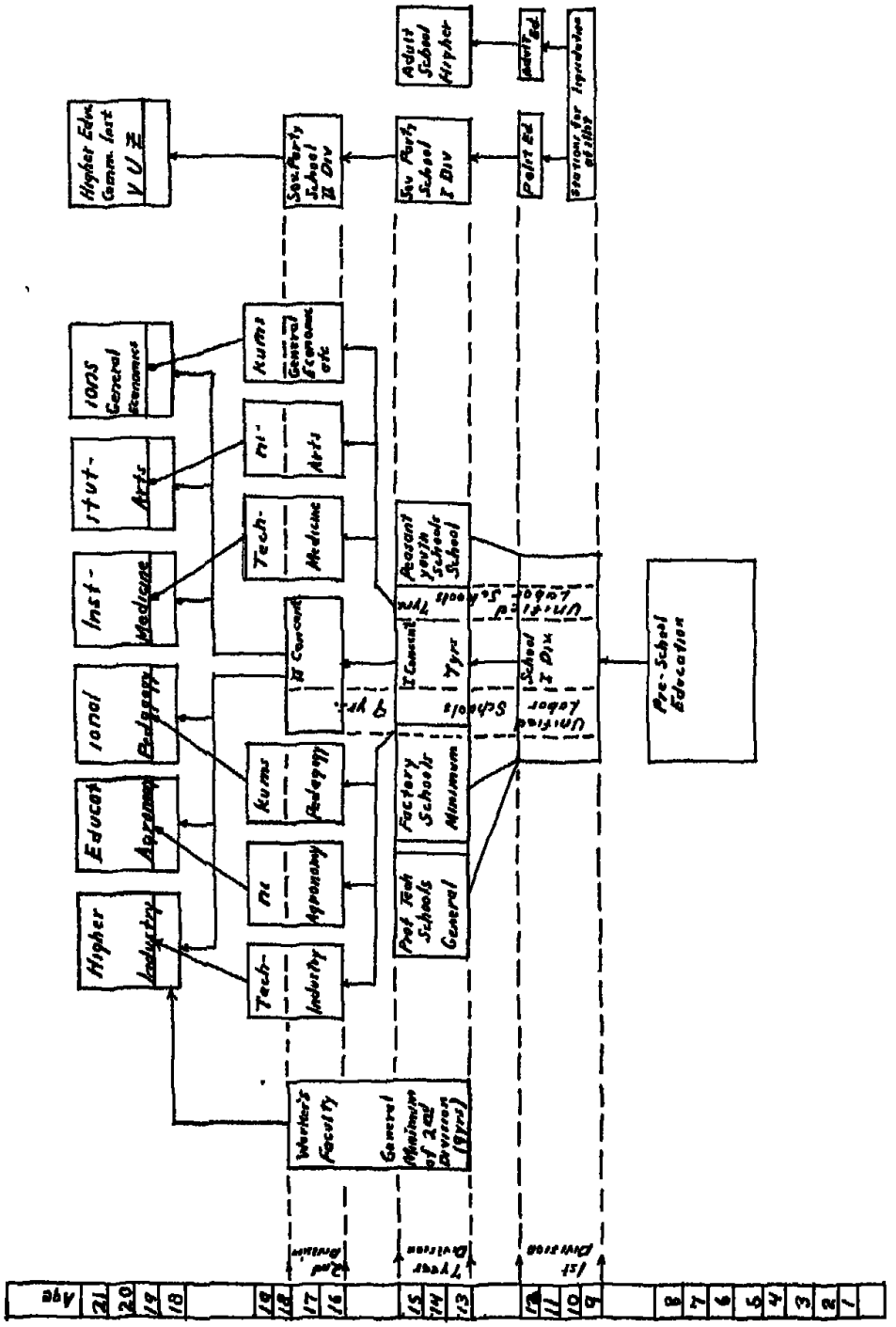
Educational Organization and Provision[467]

The decree of the Sovnarkom (the Council of People's Commissars), issued in 1918 ordered the transfer of control over *all* educational institutions in Russia to the newly established People's Commissariat of Education.[468] The Statute of October 18, 1918[469] established the regulations concerning the unified labor school. All schools, except institutions of higher learning, were to be known henceforth under the name of "The Unified Labor School," consisting of two divisions. Following is a description of the two divisions of the Unified Labor School as given by Krupskaya in 1923 (Figure VII, p. 186). The first, lower division, was to comprise a four year's course for children from 9 to 12 years of age inclusive; and the second, higher division, a two year's course for pupils from 16 to 17 years of age inclusive. Between these two divisions a middle link was to be organized comprising a three years' course for pupils from 13 to 15 years of age. This middle link in combination with the first lower division was to form the seven years' secondary school. This seven years' secondary school combined with the second higher division was to form the nine years' secondary school.

It took a number of years to consolidate the educational ladder.[470] The consolidation of a unified system did not become a fact in all parts of the Union. The All-Russian Conference of the Party on Problems of the People's Education (April, 1930) therefore resolved: "The continued existence of different systems of public education in the republics of the Union cannot be justified at present. The uniqueness of regional culture and local conditions should be considered in the unified system of public education and in the unified plan of cul-

FIGURE VII

The System of Education in R.S.F.S.R. (1923)[471]



tural work for the whole Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics."[472]

In relation to educational provision, the resolutions passed by the All-Russian Central Committee of the Party and decrees issued by the Sovnarkom bear witness to the difficulty of the realization of universal compulsory education in the first and second divisions of the systems.[473] The decree of August 31, 1925, ordered "the last date for the introduction of universal compulsory elementary education in the whole territory of the R.S.F.S.R. to be 1933-1934"[474] But the enforcement of this decree met with continuous difficulties. The decree of November 19, 1926, stated: "The last school year was characterized by a mass influx of pupils into the elementary school who could not be accommodated because of lack of facilities."[475] The decree of April 22, 1927, enumerated some difficulties standing in the way of universal education. They were lack of facilities in the school, lack of teachers, and lack of financial means.[476] Another factor was the general poverty among the population. The decree of June 28, 1927,[477] recommended, therefore, that local welfare committees supply the children of the poor peasantry and the city proletariat with shoes, clothing, and the like. Here is an admission of the inability of the central government to carry through its educational program.[478]

Another factor causing difficulties in the realm of educational organization and provision in the R.S.F.S.R. was the extent of illiteracy. For the liquidation of illiteracy a number of decrees were issued. The decree of July 19, 1920, called for the organization of an Extraordinary Commission for the Liquidation of Illiteracy.[479] The decree of August 14, 1923, ordered the intensification of this educational work and an increase in the number of stations for that purpose.[480] The decree of March 10,

1924, transferred the responsibility to the local committees of the Soviets.[481] The decree of February 19, 1927, called for the further intensification of this work and proclaimed the slogan "Down with illiteracy."[482]

The Five-Year Plans and Education

For the years following 1929, the work of the student of educational organization and provision becomes somewhat simplified, for he may substitute for an examination of the educational decrees a study of the reports of the Five-Year Plans. The First Five Year Plan of the U.S.S.R., launched in 1929, covered every phase of the life of the nation, including education; and in its reports may be found in convenient summary the educational position of the Soviet

The official report of 1933, issued by the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R., claimed a rise of literacy up to 90 per cent.[483] In the year 1931-32, universal obligatory education was fulfilled in part, namely, "for children from the ages of eight to eleven years."[484]. The report concluded that "in the whole of the U.S.S.R. the number of children in the seven-year schools comprises 67.3 percent of all the children of the corresponding ages."[485] The rest of the potential school population comprising 32.7 percent could not be accommodated.

The Second Five Year Plan was inaugurated in 1933. The Resolutions of the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union mentioned the following educational objectives for the years 1933-1937: "The completion during the Second Five Year Plan not only of the abolition of illiteracy of the population of the Union, of the abolition of the semi-literacy of the able-bodied adult population, and the completion of the institution of universal compulsory elementary education,

but also of the realization in seven-year courses, primarily in rural districts, inasmuch as in the cities this task was in the main already accomplished in the course of the First Five-Year Plan period."[486]

From the above, one may infer that the liquidation of illiteracy was still a task that was expected to be accomplished by 1937. Despite the previous decree,[487] compulsory elementary education had not been realized in 1933-34, and remained to be "completed" by 1937. The resolution of the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union requested the "realization" of universal compulsory polytechnic education in the seven-year courses. This demand was continuously repeated.[488] One interesting aspect of this resolution was the demand for "extra-school mass education, closely linked with the organized cultural leisure of the toiling masses, an increase in the number of clubs in town and country of up to 10,900."[489] The joint decree of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. of November 17, 1934, confirmed the resolution on education of the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.[490] In addition, this decree ordered mass vocational training, an increase in the provision for clubs and libraries, and an increase in the number of scientifically trained teachers for the various trades (15,100 during 1933-37),—"skilled specialists in all branches of national economy". At the end of 1937, the number of school teachers was to be increased from the 1,070,000 persons of 1932, to 1,535,000.[491]

Polytechnic Education

So important has polytechnic education been in the Marxist scheme, that it must be treated separately. The various governmental organizations have stressed its im-

portance in the U.S.S.R. The Sixteenth Congress of the All-Russian Communist Party, which took place in June and July, 1930, asked for the "realization of polytechnic education."[492] In compliance with this, and also for reasons of integration with the First Five Year Plan, the TZIK of the U.S.S.R. decreed July 25, 1930, the establishment of a close link between cultural work and the needs of the economy of the country. "From this viewpoint, the TZIK recognizes as entirely unsatisfactory the tempo of the realization of the party's program of compulsory, general, polytechnic education. The TZIK stresses the fact that the whole system of the people's education, and especially the mass-school, still lacks the necessary link with production; is still far from the realization of Lenin's demands that each step in education should be articulated with the labor of workers and peasants."[493]

This decree also ordered steps to be taken for the immediate introduction of a "minimum general and polytechnic education" for those who intended to enter the "tekhnikum" or professional school, as well as for those who planned to go directly into production. The same decree ordered the reorganization, within the period of the First Five Year Plan, of the second division of the educational system into tekhnikums, having as objective "complete qualification in a given branch of industry; such reorganization to be considered as the strengthening of polytechnism in the middle links of the system of the people's education."[494]

Another decree of the TZIK of the same date recommended that "special attention be given to a Marxist-Leninist and polytechnic preparation of teachers."[495]

Thus, polytechnic education was one of the cornerstones of Soviet education. Up to 1931, the lack or poor provision of this education was considered a stumbling

block to educational progress. In 1931 one could detect, however, new notes: a criticism of polytechnism in relation to its position in the curriculum and of the balance between the polytechnic and the general educational subjects.

This issue was taken up in a resolution of the TZIK of the U.S.S.R., published in the *Pravda* and in the *Izvestia,* for November 5, 1931. This resolution was followed by a decree of the Narcompros of the R.S.F.S.R. on November 15, 1931. "The resolution of the TZIK demands a shift of our work in the realm of educational construction. This shift should consist in concentrating the primary attention of all the organs of the people's education on the raising of the quality of the labor of the school to the maximum; and the basic task in the struggle of the polytechnic school schould be the liquidation of the basic defect of the school at this moment: that the education in the school does not give a sufficient volume of knowledge in the disciplines of general education, and also solves unsatisfactorily the problem of preparation for the tekhnikums and higher schools of completely educated men possessing a good foundation in the sciences (physics, chemistry, mathematics, the native tongue, geography, and the like)."[496]

The Narcompros, in compliance with the TZIK, drew the conclusion that in the polytechnic school inadequate attention was paid to subjects of a general educational character.[497] Furthermore, the Narcompros thought that the theoretical work of a number of higher scientific and research institutes suffered from the same defect. According to the Narcompros, the Marx-Lenin Pedagogical Institute was particularly deficient in the elaboration and correct interpretation of a Marxist pedagogy and thus descended to the "preaching of the liquidation—theory of the withering away of the school."[498]

The Narcompros, in the same decree, again in accord with the TZIK, recommended to the pertinent authorities that in carrying out the combination of education with productive labor "the whole socially productive labor of the learners should be subordinated to the academic and *erzieherische* (*vospitatel'niye*) plans of the schools."[499]

Thus, polytechnic education as a principle was to stay in force. Its place in relation to the educational and *erziehrisch* program of the school was to be subordinated to a more important objective: the general academic preparation and special grounding in those disciplines considered essential for a successful continuation on the higher steps of the educational ladder.

Naturally, the subordination of the "labor education" to the "general education" and the subsequent constant zeal in the stress on the social and applied sciences, resulted in a shift in the number of hours assigned to the various elements in the curricula. This led to an increase in the hours for "general education' and a corresponding decrease in the hours for "labor education," constituting polytechnic education.

As years passed by and the country's industrialization grew apace, the short term preparation of skilled and semi-skilled labor became of lesser importance, Second, socially useful labor as given in the schools' work-shops began to lag behind the technical advancement of the country. One could still admit the primitive methods of production as practiced in school in the first years after the revolution. These methods of production became obsolete, however, when the newest methods of production were imported and introduced into Soviet industry. Not only was such labor education in conflict with actual practice in industry, but its persistence, even on a smaller scale, acquainted pupils with erroneous ideas and prac-

tices of production, and required a greater adjustment of those who were later to enter production.

The decree of the Narcompros of the R.S.F.S.R. of March 4, 1937,[500] ordered:

a. The abolition of the teaching of labor as an independent subject in all elementary, incomplete secondary, and secondary schools.
b The liquidation of all school-shops. The machinery and equipment of these shops, whenever feasible, to be handed over to the physical laboratories of the schools.
c. The rooms formerly occupied by these work-shops to be utilized for physical, chemical, and biological laboratories.
d. Measures to be taken to "requalify" teachers of labor (with university education) into teachers of physics and mathematics. The remaining teachers to be discharged.
e. The teaching of technical modelling, sewing, knitting, and the methodology of labor in the pedagogical schools (formerly tekhnikums) is abolished. The hours thus freed to be used for the teaching of the Russian language and arithmetic.
f. The funds formerly designated for the equipment of work-shops at the secondary schools to be utilized for the equipment of physical, chemical, and biological laboratories. These funds provided formerly for the labor shops at the elementary schools to be used for the supply of various school implements and texts of the Russian language, arithmetic, geography, and the like.
g. Generally, in all schools, all the hours freed from the teaching of labor to be given to the teaching of the Russian language, literature, mathematics, and the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

The Narcompros gave the following reasons in justification of these changes: "Labor education in the secondary school was reduced in practice to the so-called teaching of labor and the organization of the school of locksmith's shops, joiner's shops, mercantile and other workshops of poor quality and primitive technique. In these primitive workshops the learners acquired entirely false ideas of modern industrial socialist production based on modern technique. Productive labor was not practiced in these workshops; on the contrary, everything pointed to the fact that the learner did not see the final products of his labor."[501]

Another decree of the Narcompros of the R.S.F.S.R. of February 7, 1937,[502] ordered the exclusion from the secondary school curricula of the following "technical disciplines: general technology and the science of materials, organization of labor, and electricity."

As for the village schools, where the teaching of labor was based in agriculture, the decree from the same source dated July 13, 1936,[503] but published later in 1937, ordered the transfer of their agricultural economies to the kolkhozy (collective agronomies), the sovkhozy (state agronomies), and the like. Only a limited acreage was left to the village schools; the elementary schools were allowed from one-half to one hectare and the secondary from one to two hectares. These small portions of land attached to the schools were to be used "exclusively for educational and *erziehrische* purposes." The large agricultural economies attached to the village schools were taken out because they "tended to divert the attention of the directors and principals of the schools from their direct aim—the supervision of academic and *erziehrisch* work."[504]

Finally, the decree of the Narcompros of the R.S.F.S.R. of August 3, 1937,[505] ordered the reorganization of the

"Scientific Research Institute on Polytechnic Education into a Scientific Research Institute for the Secondary School." The objectives of the newly organized institute would be "research on problems of *erziehung* and pedagogy; the organization of methods of teaching of the Russian language, literature, mathematics, physics, biology, history, geography, and chemistry; also the study of problems of equipment for the secondary school."[506] As no other department was created for polytechnic problems, one may assume that for the present, at least, the school curricula were to include subjects of the conventional type only. The academic plans of the First and Second Divisions of the Soviet school, as given in official sources of the Commissariat of Education, prove the above statement to be correct.[507] Nowhere in these plans is the teaching of labor as a component of the "education-labor combination" mentioned. Neither is there any indication that polytechnism is a part of the school curricula. Thus, the cardinal principle of Marxian educational theory was abandoned, if not in principle, certainly in practice.

Naturally, one is interested in the extent to which this "liquidation of labor education" was progressing in the Soviet schools, and in whether this liquidation has become a *fait accompli* at recent date. The following decree by the *Narkom* of the RSFSR of June 8, 1939 is enlightening and may supply the answer. This decree, among other things, stated that "the decree of March 4, 1937 . . . on the liquidation of labor [education], published in the *Sbornik prikazov* No. 7, of April 1, 1937, was not fulfilled as yet by many departments for the people's education. "Attaching great importance to labor education in the mechanical shops, in children's homes and [technical] auxilliary stations, I order the commissars for education of the *ASSR* and those responsible for the *krai* and *oblost'* education to check over and expose the remnants

of the equipment of the former school-shops. The whole equipment to be transferred to the children's homes, [and the like]."[508]

Thus, the liquidation of labor education, essential to polytechnism, became a *fait accompli* in all the Soviet schools in 1939. The school was to become a purely academic institution. Should one rely on the authority of the Soviet Professor Medynski, the new objective of polytechnism was to be the "study of the scientific foundations of heavy industry, the understanding of the importance that physics, mechanics, chemisty, mathematics, and biology have for the process of production. . . ."[509] But if one is aware of the importance of such study, doubts may be entertained whether this was the meaning attached to polytechnism by Marx and Engels. The recent decrees on polytechnism show an extreme deviation from even a moderate interpretation. The pendulum has been definitely moved toward complete liquidation of polytechnism. It took some time until a revival of polytechnism appeared on the horizon.

The Soviet Constitutions and Education

On many occasions, the Marxists—from Marx through Lenin to the present—have stressed in theory, in declaration of principles, in programs, and in the decrees the importance of education for the people and the duty of the new society to provide the best, all-round, and highest education for all. It is only natural, therefore, that such principles should become a part of the fundamental law or constitution of a country patterned according to Marxism. An attempt will be made to analyze and compare the status of education in the Soviet constitutions.[510]

The First Constitution stated as follows: "In order to ensure for the laboring masses effective access to educa-

tion, the R.S.F.S.R. undertakes to provide for the workers and poorest peasants complete, universal, and free education."[511] This article stated plainly that the main object was the education of the workers' class. The general mass of Russia's population and its educational needs were not considered. Even peasantry as a whole was denied "effective access to education." The article included only the "poorest" peasantry, which might be interpreted as the landless and the "small acreage-owning" bulk of the peasantry. That this principle expressed in 1918, immediately after the revolution, was dictated by political considerations, is obvious.[512]

The Second Constitution transferred educational matters to the constituent political units of the U.S.S.R. It left to the power of the supreme organs of the U.S.S.R. "the establishment of the general principles of public education."[513] It provided the right of each constituent Republic to have its own "People's Commissar for Education."[514] The sphere of independent educational activity for the constituent republics seemed, however, to be limited. First, the power of the Central organs of the U.S.S.R. to establish "the general principles of public education" signified much more than "allgemeine Richtlinien." Education "superstructured" on a material basis under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and utilized as a "mighty weapon" for the building of communist society became a highly centralized political instrument. Second, the legal authority of the educational organs of the constituent republics was limited. Actually, the central executive committee of the Union or its presidium could repeal any decree or order issued by the People's Commissar for Education of a given constituent republic.[515]

The Third Constitution assigned the "determination of the basic principles in the spheres of education and

public health"[516] to the jurisdiction of the Union "as represented by its highest organs of power." This is a strong reaffirmation of the same principle as stated in the Second Constitution, Art. 1 (q). "The educational rights" of the citizens of the U.S.S.R. were, however, given, at greater length in the Third Constitution: "Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to education. This right is ensured by universal compulsory elementary education; by the fact that education, including higher (university) education is free of charge; by the system of state scholarships for the overwhelming majority of students in the higher schools; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language and by the organization of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the toilers in the factories, state farms, machine and tractor stations and collective farms."[517] Thus, the Third Constitution provided "effective access to education" for all citizens. The Constitution defined the "economic foundation" of the U.S.S.R. as a "socialist system of economy.[518] In this economic system, the "law permits small private economy of individual peasants and handicraftsmen based on their personal labor and precluding the exploitation of the labor of others." In other words, the population of the U.S.S.R. as a whole, with a few minor exceptions, became entitled to the rights of education. With universal compulsory elementary education and higher education given gratis, the chances for education for the people at large were, according to the Third Constitution, greatly enhanced. Another interesting point is the constitutional provision for the right of instruction in the native language, a principle cherished also by Lenin. It must be noted that the educational clause of the Third Constitution mentioned "vocational, technical, and agronomic training" but not "polytechnism," i.e. "education in combination with productive

labor." It seems that such an important principle of Marx's education, adopted by Lenin and acted upon in subsequent periods should have been included in such an important document as this Constitution,[519] where the educational rights of the citizen were enumerated in such great detail.

According to Marxism, the educational contradictions in bourgeois society are an expression of the contradictions inherent in the capitalist material foundation. The Third Constitution, in a restatement, of the social changes already taken place in the Soviet Union,[520] claimed that the material foundation of the latter was nearly socialized. In the statement on the citizen's educational rights, a conciliatory expression in the educational "superstructure" would be, therefore, opportune. Such an expression is not to be found in the constitution. In looking for an answer in other authoritative sources one finds the following statement made by the Soviet State Planning Commission as early as 1933, three years before the framing of the Third Constitution: "Thus, during the years of the first Five-Year Plan, tremendous achievements were gained in the sphere of cultural upbuilding, which considerably advanced the country in the matter of bridging the differences between the cultural level of the city and countryside, between brain work and physical labour, between the various nationalities of the Soviet Union."[521] The framers of the report were conscious of the social process in terms of the Marxian dialectics. This is an essential point, according to Marxism, at the stage when the "will" participates in the hastening of change. There is, however, a confession in the above statement: the differences were bridged "considerably" but! not completely. Further efforts in this area were to be postponed. In the same year, the Soviet had to turn its attention in a different direction, to be discussed in in the pages to follow.

Meanwhile, it is worth recording that political events on the international scene, especially of Central Europe, caused the Soviet in their over-all planning to concentrate on heavy armament production and in certain areas of the mechanized industry. The plans and execution of other equally important objectives were sacrificed, at the moment, in favor of production for national security.

Education, however, was one area which was rather intensified to serve, in addition to old, new needs in a national emergency of a Socialist fatherland. Again, the philosophy of Soviet education under conditions of preparadness and its psychology under stress and strain should prove of interest to give it due consideration in the chapter to follow.

Part 7

The Test

Chapter Fifteen

FROM CRISIS TO VICTORY

Education: Anticipation and Preparation

IN 1933, with the ascent in Germany of Adolph Hitler to power, World War II appeared on the horizon. Events moved swiftly to open the curtain for the dramatic bloodshed. Unfortunately, democracy was not ready to face the challenge or to prevent it; and, by force, found itself in a perilous state. The dangers for democracy were great indeed. They were multiplied by factors inherent in its social and political organization. These reduced, for the time being, democracy's opposition to Hitlerian aggressions to mere moral resistance and diplomatic affray. As war with Naziism became inevitable, the need arose for change from a peace to a war economy and rearmament. To hasten the latter, education was called upon to arouse public opinion. Without an enlightened public opinion, peaceful western democracy could not assume even a belligerent attitude. Only under pressure of an educated public opinion would the law making bodies of democracy become ready to move the machinery necessary for defense and, if need be, offensive action. The world, meanwhile, took much bleeding until democracy could come to its rescue.

The situation was somewhat different in the U.S.S.R. The Soviet, more than any other country, saw the Nazi danger signals directed against her own security.[522] In refusing to become the holocaust in the Nazi path of destruction, education was timely geared to harness the people for the forthcoming struggle. Many were the ramifications and implications of the new educational realignment, worthwhile to be treated in a separate volume. For this, and the reason that much primary material to shed full light on this subject has not reached the American researcher, delimitations will be enforced here.

To begin, the new goal and appeal in Soviet education for patriotism, love for the Soviet land, is imperative. Patriotism, love for the fatherland, is an aspect which alway finds fertile soil with one's countrymen. Here one encounters "Soviet patriotism" as an objective in Soviet education. Slowly, but firmly, Soviet education seeks its way to reach the minds of the young, as well as of the old, with this new socialist patriotic conception until, borne out of the blood soaked battlefields, it takes definite form and meaning. This "Soviet patriotism," however, is not to be unfolded, according to Soviet educators, by emotional appeals or national aggrandisement only. As anything else, it must be built and stamped in scientifically. And, when one speaks of science in Soviet Russia, it means Marxian science with its canons of materialized dialectics and historical materialism.

The subject which lends itself best for such exposition on the youth level is history. The teaching of history lends itself, in a natural way, first, for a modest and factual statement on the Soviet land, followed by a clearcut political platform on the issue, culminated in a courageous stand or acceptance of the enemy's challenge. To quote: "USSR is the land of socialism. There is only one socialist land on the globe. This is our land. It is the

largest country in the world. On the far north is eternal ice, and on the south it is warm enough to grow oranges and lemons, and cultivate tea and cotton. In natural riches our land is the richest in the world. All that is necessary for life is to be found in our land. . . ."[523] Soviet patriotism is essential because of the Fascists' threat to peace and the Soviet social economy. But, the Soviet is ready for the duel. " . . . The Soviet does not want anyone's land, does not want war. Our government is leading an unbending policy of peace toward all the nations of the world. But we are not afraid of threats and are ready to deliver the war mongers a stroke for a stroke. The war mongers are the Fascists, the worst enemies of all the toiling masses. The Fascists are presently in power in Germany and Italy. . . ."[524] But mere moral readiness, or attitude, is not enough. Attitudes must be fortified by Soviet self-expression, Soviet self-objectification, and a Soviet unified philosophy. Measures were therefore taken to promulgate and implement these. Theory and practice had to be linked and unified.

The Great Patriotic War: Historical Dialectics for "Soviet Patriotism"

In the Soviet mind the war was already in full swing in 1938.[525] It was only a matter of a short time for the Soviet to be drawn into combat. Hence, the appeal for patriotism and hardening of youth. In the words of the Narcom for Education, V. P. Potemkin: " . . . youth should be able to accomplish long marches, overcome obstacles, swim across rivers, use weapons, throw grenades, extend first aid to the sick and the wounded, extinguish incendiary bombs, know the rules of camouflage, and gas defense. Courage, resourcefulness, firmness, will

power, ardent love for the fatherland—these are the qualities which our fine youth must develop."[526] So far, this sounds commonplace. But gradually, a "deepening" takes place. As the war progresses, "Soviet patriotism" assumes a definite connotation. It is love for the Soviet and what it stands for in the "Great Patriotic War"; a Soviet society imbued with progressivism against reaction on a world scale.

With great vigor and force, this is impressed upon Soviet citizenry through many channels, especially in the school. Subject matter is drawn from history and from the events of the day (history in the making) for the direct teaching of this new educational objective. Illustrations are supplied and methods are shown as to how this can best penetrate the young people's minds. "Under conditions of the Great Patriotic War, the most important objective of the school is the nurture of Soviet patriotism. . . . Extremely important are the themes connected therewith. Important are also the understanding of just and unjust wars, and themes representing the struggle of progressive historical forces against the stagnant reactionary classes."[527]

Pains were taken to emphasize Soviet patriotism as a conception far removed from chauvinism or nationalism in the usual sense. The Soviets, one is told, are a union of peoples, nationalities, races, and dialects. Soviet patriotism is not Russian or of any other national group. Soviet patriotism calls for brotherly love among all the Soviet diverse groups which constitute one brotherly family. Neither is Soviet history, the vehicle for teaching of Soviet patriotism, an account of the past, present, and future aspirations of the Russian people only. It is rather the chronicle of dialectic struggle of all the peoples of the Soviet union. The teaching of such history, of the peoples of the USSR, calls for definite high skills and a thorough

knowledge of Marxian science. "Without being skilled in dialectics and historical materialism, one is incapable of teaching history in the Soviet school. The main objective of teaching history [at this time] is the inculcation of Soviet patriotism. . . . Soviet patriotism does not split, but on the contrary molds all nationalities and peoples of our own land into one brotherly family. . . . "[528]

Now, it is not only modern history which one can and should interpret dialectically. Indeed, ancient and medieval history contain facts which, when properly documented, lend scientific support to Soviet society as a lawful social category on the world's historical stage. Fascism, Nazism, as well as their superimposed and enforced war upon the Soviets, are historical phenomena whose appearance and fall could and should be predicted, dialectically speaking, with Marxian scientific certainty.

The developmental law of human society, scientifically based on historical materialism, should serve to pedagogues as the canon in teaching of ancient history. The educators and teachers should explain to students the origin and developmental stages of primitive society: the primitive communal order, its degeneration and the appearance of private property, inequality, classes, the State, and, finally, the slavery order as the first form of exploitation of man by man. From the latter, the slavery order, the teacher should select materials on the education of slaves, their uprisings and rebellions (often joined by the poor) throughout the lands of the Orient and the Roman Empire. By concrete illustrations these should clarify, through analysis and comparison, how groundless are the attempts of Fascist 'historians' to idealize slave ownership and the slave State. It should be brought out that these Fascist "idealizations" sharply contradict true historical facts, and that such historical "regressions" are doomed to failure.

Hence, it follows that Soviet patriotism means solidification of progress. During the "Great Patriotic War", therefore, the schools must educate a politically mature Soviet citizen and patriot. History is a good vehicle for the implementation of this objective. A Marxist-Leninist understanding of the true essence of slavery will enable the pupil to identify that yoke of the slave which Hitler would like to impose on the Soviet peoples and nationalities.[529] In other words, Soviet patriotism is identical with "national" freedom. As the war lasted the concept was given further theoretical treatment, and incorporated among Soviet educational objectives. These will find discussion at a later stage of this work.

The Great Patriotic War: Its Effect Upon School Population

How World War II was borne by the peoples of the Soviet is beyond the scope of this work. If literature, art and music present a reflection and expression of a people's life; if a nation's pains, sufferings and joys find emotional and artistic outlets in the creative arts of its poets, painters and composers,—the evidence and nature of such creativity should be of interest to the educator who is aware of the significance of these tempi in the educational process. Even a casual examination of such Soviet literature will unfold to the researcher a mine of information on this subject.

The new "nationalism" and "Soviet patriotism" found expression in Soviet art and music. "Listening to works of the leading group of our composers, we detect a notable advance of national melodic elements. Even before the war, this direction was vividly represented. . . . The well-known period of cosmopolitanism, connected with

prewar creativity of a number of composers is seemingly a matter of the past."[530] The siege of Leningrad, the battles in its suburbs, hunger and starvation among its inhabitants, the enemy's defeat and retreat were all impressed and captured in the arts and music[531] The battles around Moscow found similar expression in poems and songs. "A song and a poem are a bomb and a banner."[532]

One should be interested to learn, however, how teachers and pupils, and thereby the Soviet school, met and fought the enemy's onslaught, invasion and occupation. Regretfully, materials are scant in this area. At least, so far, they escaped the American researcher. One notes that even Soviet leaders are aware of the need for such documentation. In fact, upon examination of materials relating to postwar reconstruction, one finds, to a researcher's satisfaction, the decree of August 19, 1945, advising the "collection and study of materials relating to school, and teachers' life, during the Great Patriotic War."[533]

One cannot escape the "hunch" that the daily chronicles of Soviet educational literature should contain such data, of deep interest to the psychologist and educational historian. A search among such materials available will support the above contention.

The following, taken from a report at a pre-school conference, is illuminating. It presents a picture of conditions under which the teachers labored, and allows a glimpse at the war psychology of the pre-school tots in the besieged Leningrad.

The Leningrad pre-school workers reported at a conference on health conditions of children. The setting of the conference was remarkable: right behind the walls of the confernce study, one could hear the explosion of the shells. Under these battlefront conditions, the reports stated that there was not a child of pre-school age, who has not been taken care of in accordance with the plans

and program set. "During the summer, 50.4% of the children were taken to the country. . . ."

On the children's creative work, the report further noted that most of their drawings, for instance, were on war topics and of a definite subjectivity: "Our tanks are always victorious; the Fascist tanks usually burn. . . ." Of a similar nature were the descriptive themes of children's creative work. The children loved to ask and play riddles. A few samples follow:[584]

"It flies, it buzzes,
It whistles, it falls,
Then,—up goes all.
(shell)

"It flies, its noise like thunder;
It falls, and splits all asunder.
(bomb)

"It walks, trees to break;
Destroys all in its wake.
Of barriers unaware—
The enemy's nighmare—
It walks in its might,
The Soviet people's pride.
(Soviet tank)

One may assume that school work has suffered under conditions of battle, depredation and sacrifice. War identification must have been common phenomena in battle ravaged localities of the U.S.S.R. The description given above shows how the war has left deep imprints upon the very young. The psychological, and other, effects of the conflict were penetrating enough to affect all age levels,

and prepare the ground for the rise and development of a patriotism on Soviet lines of education.

Other reports[535] on the effects of the war on the Soviet school child should be of interest. Accordingly, when given freedom of choice, under war conditions, children

(a) are preoccupied in visual expression of military subjects;
(b) while observing nature, frequently draw comparisons from war or military life;
(c) attempt to discover new war concepts, and elaborate them with more details;
(d) play war games such as "pilots", "tankists", "hospital", "wounded warriors", and the like;
(e) dislike the medical doctor more so than in peacetime;
(f) suffer deeper, than in peace time, when separated from their dear ones;
(g) picture cruelty of some leaders with verbalizations and such questions as: "Is Hitler a man or an animal?";
(h) are unwilling, in dramatization, to play the part of Fascists; these roles are usually assigned to inanimate things such as dolls.

The war had its effect on adolescents. War, usually, has a demoralizing effect on youth whose elders have left for the front or assumed other duties in the interest of national defense. Increase in juvenile delinquency, civic crime, let-down in morals, school truancy are the accompaniments of war when every ounce of national endeavor is strained and directed toward the struggle for survival. Especially, does a struggle on a world scale drain on a nation's resources in manpower, thus disorganizing

production, as well as labor, and other aspects of the national economy.

To overcome, combat and prevent,—these filled the Soviet agenda of the day. Again, education was the weapon to keep the youth, and consequently the nation, alert and sublimated for the gigantic struggle. Steps were undertaken to guard Soviet youth against demoralization, and have it mobilized for the all-out struggle on clear-cut Soviet lines. Some of the measures were extraordinary indeed.

War Measures: Labor Reserves, Agricultural Draft

Upon the order of the U.S.S.R. government (decree of October 9, 1940),[536] a Central Administration of Labor Reserves was established at the *Sovnarcom*. This agency was delegated to administer and direct youth, by order of mobilization, as well as by "open draft" (seeking volunteers), from the city and the *Kolkhoz* to the Craft (*remeslenniye*), Railway (*zheliezno-dorozhniye*) and Factory (*fabrichnozavodskiye or FZO*) schools (item 602). For instance, in 1940, within a two-week period (November 10th to 22th), the Central Administration of Labor Reserves was to draft from the city and *Kolkhoz* youth: 350,000 boys between 14 and 15 years of age, for the Craft and Railway Schools; and 250,000 boys between the ages of 16 and 17 years of age for the FZO Schools (item 603).

In addition, the Central Administration of Labor Reserves was to submit, for approval of the Sovnarcom of the U.S.S.R., a plan for youth mobilization by regions (*oblast' and krai*), constituent republics, and the like, according to which those were to supply definite quotas of young people for the Craft, Railway, and FZO schools (item 604). These quotas, and the plan of their distribu-

tion, were subsequently approved in force and effective as of December 1, 1940 (item 675).

This decree, was followed by others[537] aimed to regulate and organize the course of life in these schools, created under conditions of emergency. One reads that:

(a) Male youth, 14-15 years of age, drawn to the Craft and Railway schools must have an education not less than that of an elementary school or the equivalent to four grades of the middle school;

(b) Youth, 16-17 years of age, drawn to the FZO (Factory) schools are to be accepted irrespective of their educational preparation;

(c) As the Craft and Railway schools were to prepare for the more skilled professions, students in these schools were to receive, in addition to training in production, an education in general subjects and certain special disciplines;

(d) In the Craft and Railway Schools, the length of the school day was to be seven hours (five hours for production and two hours for general education); in the FZO (Factory) schools, eight hours;

(e) Measures were to be enforced toward the maintenance of discipline in the Craft, Railway, FZO (Factory) schools; voluntary absences by students and similar misdemeanors were to be disapproved and subject to disciplinary action.

Next, in order, was the mobilization of the able-bodied population of cities and villages for work in agriculture,[538] namely in the *Kolkhozy* and *Sovkhozy*. Again, consideration, necessarily, will be given here to the effects of this draft on schools. The law stated particularly that, during strenuous periods of 1942, pupils of grades six to ten of the incomplete middle, of the secondary village and city schools, and those of the technical *VUZY* (except

those of the graduating classes) were to be drawn into agriculture. Pupils and students of the incomplete middle and secondary schools were to be directed to work in groups, boys and girls separately, under the guidance and leadership of their teachers. A day's work from six to eight hours was decreed depending on the age of the youth and the nature of their work. That the above measures were rather unusual and contrary to the conception of Soviet labor law is duly attested by Soviet legal authorities. Again, national crises called for strong measures, all to consolidate the home front: "The war has drafted into the Army a considerable number of men. In consequence of this, the Sovnarcom of the U.S.S.R. permitted the Sovnarcoms of the Union Republics (item 60, no, 4, 1942) to draft [Soviet] citizens, in order of mobilization, for agricultural work in the *Kolkhozy* and *Sovkhozy*. In Soviet labor jurisprudence, labor mobilization represents an extraordinary measure in the area of legal industrial relations. . . . With the end of the "Great Patriotic War" labor mobilization, enacted by the decree of February 13, 1942, was discontinued. . . ."[539]

It is accepted that laws, even when enacted as a temporary measure in times of stress and emergency, are bound to leave their stamp on national life long after the crisis is past and these laws declared impotent. In a sense, emergency legislation constitutes a revolution and a condition for future changes which otherwise, although needed, would still be dormant. This will come to light in the pages to follow.

The Problem of Separate Education Versus Co-education

One of the important questions in Soviet educational life was that of co-education versus separate education of

boys and girls (or *vice versa*) in the elementary and secondary schools.

This problem has a long history in Russia, before the Soviet. For the purpose of this work it is suffice to say that this problem was tinged with the struggle in Russia for womens rights, equality of sexes, and the like. A co-educational school in old Russia signified, by the mere fact of its existence, a step toward woman's emancipation and liberalism. The revolution proclaimed co-education as one of the important components of its program. The war has brought a new change in the opposite, the old direction. Separate education for boys and girls in the elementary and secondary schools was again introduced to begin as an experimental measure, in 1943.[540]

An examination of the literature pertaining to this question,[541] conveys meagre information on the subject. The findings obtained follow. Separate education was to be introduced gradually, and to begin first in the schools of the regional centers (*oblast' and krai*).[542] According to Soviet authorities, the change was necessitated by the unique development of Soviet society. Changing needs of the day called for change of means. Such theory and sequent practice are justified, dialectically, for the final goal constantly kept in view and sought by Soviet society.

In retrospect, the October revolution introduced co-education in all schools of Russia. From Soviet critical literature one carries the conclusion that co-education has at that period justified itself. Its enactment and implementation contributed toward the:

(a) mental and moral uplift of a good half of the country's population;
(b) placement of women on equal footing with men, in fact as well as in principle;

(c) promotion and growth of secondary education;
(d) uprooting of backward theories on the mental and social "inferiority" of women;
(e) establishment of comradely relationships between boys and girls and general enforcement of the moral level of the pupils.

Despite these successes on the ideological, cultural, and moral levels, co-education was found lately by Soviet educational leaders to impede the course of the pedagogical process. In the words of the People's Commissar of Education: "Co-education makes no allowance for differences in physical development of boys and girls, for variations required by the sexes in preparing each for their future life work, for good practical activity, for military training, and [finally] it does not insure the required standard of discipline among the pupils."[548]

Thus, "at a definite historical period," the *co-education* school replaced the imperfect *separate* school of the olden days, to be in turn replaced by the *new separate* school striving at higher Soviet goals. The *new separate* school was to consider scientifically the *separate,* or different, psychological and physical characteristics of the sexes. Finally, what constitutes the most important distinction between the *new separate* and the *old separate* school, the Soviet claim, is that an identical and equal amount of subject matter and academic knowledge was to be included in the new program of both the boys' and girls' schools.

The period of time elapsed since the new reform is too short to enable one to pass an opinion of weight. However, the People's Commissar of Education, the late academician V. Potemkin, stated that "as a result of a year's experience in *separate* education we may constitute the following: the pupils of these schools have become

more efficient in their studies; the young people conduct themselves in a more simple and earnest manner in the *separate* schools. . . . All this supplies good reasons for further extension of the system of separate education."[544]

Other Educational Measures

The war has necessitated a tightening in many areas of the Soviet organization. Education occupied a front equal to the material base. The attack was directed at two levels: the pupil's and the teacher's. Education, as a weapon, was to cement organization, through an uplift in morale and identification with the State's objectives. Again, what was good administratively and provided results for the end in old Russia could be just as well applied in the U.S.S.R., but for a different objective.

The following were aimed at improving discipline and standards on the pupils' level:[545]

(a) enactment of "Rules of Conduct" for pupils in the elementary and secondary schools (such rules were in existence in the pre-Soviet order);
(b) The re-introduction of the pre-Soviet system of school marks from 1 to 5 (*pyatibal'naya sistema*), each mark to regain its former meaning: 1—excellent; 2—bad; 3—satisfactory; 4—good; 5—excellent;
(c) Final examinations in grades six and seven
(d) Examination for the *Diploma in Maturity* (*Attestat zrielosti*) on leaving grade ten of the secondary schools.

Measures were also taken to raise the quality and education of teachers through the:

(a) improvement in quality of instruction and pedagogical schools;
(b) reorganization of the Inspectors' Institute;
(c) approval of a statute on the "distinction" (znatchok), of *otlichnik* (distinguished in people's education).

Measures of a contributory nature toward education and of youth's welfare were:

(a) the enactment of *compulsory* education for children from 7 years of age;
(b) the establishment of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences.

Other measures relating to education were:

(a) approval of laws on the care and adoption of children left without parents;
(b) approval of statute of the Commission on Care of Homeless Children.[546]

One is impressed that many measures calculated for conditions of war and national emergency were to remain active for the postwar period.

Chapter Sixteen

RECONSTRUCTION

Education, As a Weapon, Reasserted

WORLD WAR II ended in 1945 with victory for the Allies, of which the U.S S.R. was a member. Of the "Big Three"—the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet—who carried the main burden of the struggle, the Soviet Union was the only one to be invaded. The extent of destruction brought upon its lands was enormous; and the kind of ravage and plunder inflicted by the enemy—the Nazis—reached the degree of monstrosity. Educationally, the Soviet suffered great losses. The number of libraries, museums, and similar institutions, destroyed reached into the thousands. Only in the R.S.F.S.R., the Germans demolished more than 20,000 schools.[547]

In a State where a certain ideology and educational work for well-defined political ideas and action is synonymous with its existence and proclaimed ends any educational bottleneck would receive primary attention. During the war, in the middle of the havoc caused by the enemy, education was the rallying call and consolidator of Soviet citizenry. "The founder of scientific socialism demonstrated with exclusive clarity and conviction that education is a mighty and sharp political weapon.[548] Stalin in his discussion with Wells clearly

pointed out that "education is a weapon, the effect of which depends on as to who controls this weapon, and at whom, it is intended, it should strike."[549] Accordingly, the program was reasserted that one of the cardinal objectives of education is "the change of the school from a weapon of bourgeois class rule into a weapon for complete destruction of this class divided society, into a weapon for communist transformation of society."[550] The war distracted the Soviet from this chosen path. The war not only interrupted Soviet educational progress. It turned the educational clock backward despite the enormous efforts to halt disintegration. Education—the weapon—was therefore refortified now to deliver hammering blows at any "distort", on the one hand, and to help the general uplift, on the other.

After the war ended one had to rebuild and reconstruct, first, the pre-war net of schools. The lessons gained from war education had to be also utilized to broaden, deepen, and raise educational standards.[551] Before the war, the plan for general elementary education was nearly accomplished. Preparations were made, then, to round-up secondary education in the cities, and seven-years schools in the villages and in the constituent republics. The war interrupted this completion. Reconstruction and rebuilding had, therefore, to come first, before extension and intensification came in line.[552] Many of the youth forced out of school had to be educationally rehabilitated first. The situation in this area was sad, indeed. "During the Great Patriotic War, some of the youth were forced to leave school and engage in industrial production and agriculture. . . . In order to enable this youth to continue their education, schools for young city and village people were established in which, in addition to training in productive labor, they would also receive general education."[553]

The Fourth Five-Year Plan (1946-50)

A new Five Year Plan *(piatiletka)* was on the order of the day. This would be the fourth *piatilietka.* The first (1929-1933) aimed at improvement of Soviet industry through intensification, mechanization, and rationalization of its organization. The second *piatiletka* (1933-1937) aimed at the liquidation of the remnants of the *kulaks* and large private ownership. The third (1938-42), on the threshold of World War II, aimed at the development of heavy and military industry. The fourth Five-Year Plan (1946-50) proclaimed as its objective "the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the land to its prewar level."[554]

The fourth Five-Year plan included numerous phases of education; and outlined the various jobs to be done in the near future. But, first, to take care of immediate needs, the schools for working city and village youth created during an emergency had to be readied for the reception of a multitude of students. According to A. G. Kalashnikov, "These schools will continue to develop during the new Five-Year Plan. In 1950, the number of pupils of working city youth in these schools will reach 480,000, and those in village youth, 587,000.[555]

The following table gives complete figures for these schools in 1946, and the number of schools to be built and equipped for each year of the Five-Year Plan.

FIGURE VIII

The Fourth Five-Year Plan, 1946-50[556]

Development of Schools for Working (City) and Village Youth

Years	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950
Schools for Working (City) Youth	300	330	370	413	480
Schools for village youth	300	389	457	522	587
Totals	600	719	827	935	1,057

According to the Plan, the number of children in kindergartens in 1950 will be increased to 2,260,000, or double the number of 1940..

The drive for general compulsory education of children was renewed as part of the Plan. It aimed at education of children from five years of age in the cities as well as in the villages. At the end of 1950, the Plan called for 193,000 elementary, seven-year incomplete and complete secondary schools with an attendance of 31,800,000 pupils,[557] equaling the prewar number.

In 1950, the number of students in higher educational institutions, according to Soviet sources, shall be raised to 674,000, and those in specialized secondary schools to 1,280,000. The number of graduate specialists, during the Fourth Five-Year Plan, from higher educational institutions should reach 602,000 and those from technical colleges 1,326,000.

Indeed, the number of higher educational institutions has already grown considerably. Their number reached 783 institutions in 1946, with an attendance of 562,000 students.[558] According to the Plan, both figures, as given above, will rise within a few years.

Tuition in higher educational institutions was free up to 1940. However, considerable economic improvement in the Union and the growing war budget called for an annual tuition fee, equivalent to a worker's average monthly wage. However, those who suffered from Fascist occupation were granted free tuition. The various privileges enjoyed by Soviet students remained however in force:[559] the use of dormitories at a nominal fee; clothing and shoe repair at campus shops; accommodation in "student-towns"; free tickets to concerts; vacations in Houses of Rest; student camps, and the like.

Tuition is free, at present, in the elementary, and incomplete (seven-year) secondary schools. A small tuition

fee is charged in the last grades of the secondary school. Tuition is free in the Craft, Railway and FZO schools. In these schools, board and room is also provided by the government. Tuition, board and room is also given free in the Suvorov military schools, and the Nakhimov schools founded for the children of the Red Army men and the partisans. Orphans and victims of Fascism are entitled to all privileges[560] and free tuition in any type or grade of the Soviet school.

Decrial of Pedology, the "Pseudo-Science"

One ventures now to inquire into the state of old issues in Marxian education, some basic components or principles of Soviet education. With so many changes recorded, and the dynamic flux of Soviet history, one should find himself interested in present Soviet considered opinions or theories of such aspects (or what Soviet education once called "Distortions") as pedology,[561] "withering away of the school," and the like. Of supreme interest to American education should be the state of Marx's Great Principle, "labor-education combination", or Polytechnism.

To begin with, Pedology. The Soviet educator's contempt for this so-called "pseudo-science" is recently reaffirmed in reviews and special recapitulations in Soviet educational literature. The position of the pedologist abolished by official decree in 1938 is still in force today. Ten years have passed since this "distortion" or "pseudo-science" was taken to task. A number of articles were published recently in Soviet literature, reviewing the whole matter.[562] The tone is sharp and irrevocable. Recent Soviet opinion holds that in their time the pedologists have lowered the teacher's role in the educational process; have denied the teacher's influence in educa-

tional relationships, and subordinated the educator's position to factors of heredity and environment. They have preached a "fatalistic conditioning of the child's destiny by biological and social factors, heredity, and some unchanging environment. This contradicts the Marxist teaching of the 're-education of men in the spirit of socialism, which liquidates the capitalist survival in the economy and conscience of men'." The pedologist, Blonski, is reminded of his old error and taken to task for his teaching that "failure originates not in the educational process, but exists therein from the very first day of the educational process. . . . Some children are 'repeaters' even before they reach school. . . . " Such "distortions" and errors are duly explained by Soviet educators if one will attempt to understand the pedologist Zalkin who stated that the "analysis of real facts have proven that we [pedologists] have fallen into the shameful captivity of reactionary bourgeois theories (biogenetics, Sternism, and the like)."[568]

The Soviet faith in education is next to its highest canons of total socialization and the final goal of a classless society. Nay, it is more than that. It is the primary mover and weapon for *change,* in terms of the Soviet. What education can do, given the proper conditions and direction, is to pave the avenue toward the end, in fact, hasten the dialectic process.

The Struggle Against Formalism

The recent campaign in the Soviet educational literature against "Formalism" can be understood and justified in that light. The student's failure to achieve knowledge; his failure to apply it, when achieved, in practical life can and should be referred to short-comings in the educa-

tional process. The science of pedagogy has a long way to go before it will prove to have sharpened its tools; readied subject matter accessible to the various age levels; and understood the subtle dialectic processes in the child's thinking. Meanwhile, "Formalism", it is claimed, prevails in the Soviet school, and is conducive to failure in educational achievement. "Formalism", according to Soviet educators, is generated in the school by numerous factors:[564] the weak theoretical, practical, and cultural preparation of teachers: neglect of the basic pedagogical principle demanding concrete teaching; divorce between communicated knowledge and practical life; the race after high formal criteria of achievements; failure to inculcate in students the habit of independent work; deficient programs; poor textbooks, and the like.

New Secondary School Subjects: Psychology, Logic, Darwinism.

The improvement of school curricula, the search and experimentation with new subjects of study are constantly on the Soviet pedagogical agenda. But these must be constantly treated dialectically and in compliance with Marxian dogma. The new subjects for the secondary school today are psychology, logic,[565] and Darwinism or "Foundations of Darwinism."[566] The teaching of psychology in the last grade of the secondary school was to become effective in 1947 and gradually spread out in as many schools as possible within four years. Psychology was to help students, in a practical way, to improve: interpersonal relations; understanding of history, literature, and the arts; methods of memory improvements; methods of learning or better study. Logic was to facilitate correct speaking and correct thinking, especially in dialectics.

Courses in "Foundations of Darwinism" are taking

firm hold beginning from Grade IX of the secondary school. The Soviet school, one is told, is the only one where such systematic courses are offered on the secondary school level. Its teaching is scientifically justified. "Nature is in perpetual motion in time as well as in space." This movement has a definite direction. Darwinism contains much material for dynamic and causal thinking on the origin of life, origin of man, and his developmental evolution. From Darwinism, one may learn the laws and managerial methods of plant and animal growth. In short, according to Soviet educators, Darwinism possesses (theoretically and practically) a clear system of organic evolution, and a specific clear-cut objective of such study based on the historical development and continuity of organic forms.

The role of the educator in transmitting this knowledge, in educational experimentation and communication, is all-important. His knowledge must be encyclopedic and, for pedagogical purposes, selective. He must know the psychology of the child's mind, but understand also its dialectics. He must, in addition, command a political retrospect, current events, political awareness on a world scale, and the like. Most important, he must be permeated with the Soviet cause and final objective.

Again, the educator is in need of a good Marxian training, if he is to succeed in his school work. The quality of education and nurture in the school can and must be raised. To achieve this one must also advance the ideational level, the Marxist-Leninist education of the pedagogical cadres.[567]

Chapter Seventeen

RECONSTRUCTION *(continued)*

Polytechnism, Anew

ONE comes now to consideration of the postwar state of Polytechnism in Soviet educational theory and practice. The reader will note the importance of this educational principle. The masters, Marx-Engels-Lenin, as well as their disciples, have given time and space to the problem of polytechnism, its inclusion in the school program, and methods of its application. This work also attempted to discuss polytechnic education at greater length.[568]

It is interesting to observe that recent Soviet educational literature contains a considerable number of articles on polytechnism, which substantiates the importance attached to polytechnism by this work, as an essential part of Marxian education.

Some of the Soviet educators are frank to state that polytechnism was a failure in the Soviet school. "Regarding the practical realization of polytechnic education our school, up to the present, has not achieved meaningful results. At the All-Russian Conference . . . on People's

Education of the U.S.S.R., in January 1941, it was clearly established that the Soviet general-educational school has frequently, during its historical development, attempted to solve the problem of preparation of its pupils for future labor production. But the means and methods of practical preparation applied at the schools have not achieved the ends. In the realm of realization of polytechnism in the schools there were allowed serious shortcomings and even errors. . . ."[569]

This opinion is supported by another Soviet educator who pleads for renewed polytechnic attempts. "The school should offer not only general, but also polytechnic education. Regretfully, the latter aspect of education is often forgotten; and, the educational content, therefore, of the school appears to be one-sided. . . . The lack of theoretical clarity in the area of polytechnic education should not become the cause for neglecting this problem. On the contrary, the more attention one will pay to it, the faster it will be solved theoretically and practically."[570]

With a characteristic persistence, the same Soviet writer comes to remind his colleagues that: "V. Illitch [Lenin] came back to the problem of polytechnism many times. . . . In his notes on N. K. Krupskoi's theses on polytechnic education, he again emphasized that youth, graduating from the secondary schools, should possess a broad education, a scientific *Weltanschauung*, and a polytechnic outlook. [These] should be closely linked with youth's participation in social labor. The latter enhances not only labor skills, but teaches to view labor as something belonging to the whole people; it nurtures a feeling of collectivism, the subjection of one's 'private' interests to those of society. It will demand great exertion and creative work of theoretical and practical educators to implement polytechnic education in the same spirit as

planned and thought by V. Illitch [Lenin] twenty-five years ago."[571]

This challenge was accepted by S. M. Shabalov. Herefrom, one senses new direction in polytechnism. Due to the necessity, on the one hand, of adhering on this subject to the teaching *core* of the masters, and the polytechnic failures in the past, on the other, Soviet educators met necessarily with some difficulties and entanglements. Hence, the attempt by this writer, in his exposition of the new trends in polytechnism to follow their "papers" closely and discreetly.

Polytechnism in Regular School Curricula.

According to Shabalov, [572] "Polytechnic education . . . is nothing else than education offering the foundations of the general productive and technological contemporary culture."

This according to Shabalov, is realized in the Soviet in various ways. The students receive important technical information while covering the usual subjects of the school's curriculum. These subjects contain enough technical information on industry and agriculture, a fact which can be verified from an examination of Soviet textbooks. So far so well. Contrary to all expectations, however, the Soviet students come out of the school, for all practical purposes, technically illiterate. What are the reasons for such phenomena?

This can be explained by the fact that there is a complete disorganization in the process of communicating this technical knowledge to students. The technical-production material, in the texts, it not brought together into a system. Often, it is given to pupils at an age when they are still incapable of understanding it; in other

words, the technical material in the texts is often above the age level of students. In addition, many sections of the school textbooks remain, by tradition, abstract and formalistic (especially the sections on mechanics in the texts of physics). Often enough, technical knowledge is conveyed in words but not in concepts linked with technical knowledge or skills. Such communicated "detached" knowledge is bound to evaporate. Finally, what is most important: the technical-production material, found in texts, is not given as a part and parcel of the student's general knowledge or frame of reference. It is "separatistic." "If one could bring order and system to the technical-production content of the prevailing texts, it might be possible to achieve some success in the realization of polytechnic education."[578]

Granted that polytechnic education consists of skilled communication to students, in the process of general education, of technical production information, this in turn to be digested by the learners in combination with some concrete experience, the question still remains as to which method, and what elements of modern complex technology, should be utilized in this double process? There is also a far cry from teaching "general scientific principles of productive processes" to having students practically participate in "foundations of industry in general,"—the two aspects thought by the masters to be included in polytechnic education. There appeared, therefore, a two-hand discussion on the subject.

Special Subject or Discipline for Polytechnism

According to Shabalov, the problem gravitated on as to what contents should be fed into polytechnic education from the usual school subjects, such as physics, chemistry,

mathematics, biology, and the like. On the other hand, some Soviet educators, for instance M. N. Skatkin pointed out the desirability of including in the curriculum, for the purpose of polytechnic education, an especially designated subject or subjects: "labor", "technique", "technology", "organization of production", and the like.[574]

In due time the differences between the two viewpoints became clear-cut. Some thought that the *basic* sciences contain *all* that is necessary for polytechnic education; others held that *special* subjects in the school curricula are necessary for polytechnic education. It was suggested, by Shabalov, that each school of thought, in itself and by itself, is pedagogically extreme. "On the basis of cooperation both can, and should, supplement each other in polytechnic education." The attack had to be turned, therefore, in a different direction.

It remained, first, to examine as to which polytechnic elements, best for the secondary school, are to be found in production *per se*. A careful analysis of production, as to its polytechnic content, was to supply pertinent basic material for polytechnism. The next step, then, was to refine and elaborate the analytical method. Here again, the dialectic method was bound to come to the rescue. Third, if a special subject is to constitute polytechnism, it would be helpful to trace the source, ways of birth, development, and formation of a new science. In other words, the knowledge of the birth process and development of any new science should show or clarify the ways and means for the organization of the new polytechnic discipline. If this new discipline, to take form, must undergo a Cesarian operation, it is well so; but the act, form, and the growth it is to take on, must follow the laws of natural scientific development.

The reasoning was as follows: The development of scientific technology, as well as the development of any sci-

ence, follows the law of dialectics: the growth of concrete technological knowledge is realized in a unit through the ascent of an abstraction. For instance, the development of separate biological disciplines brought the emergence of general biology. In theoretical mechanics, physical chemistry, and the like, various parts of knowledge, heretofore separate, in time amalgamated in a unit. In fact, new sciences were born, first, through the emergence of findings pointing to new fields of knowledge or human interests; followed, next, by separation or divorce of these from their parent body—the old established science of philosophy; and, third, by accumulation, or collection, and injection of the scattered bits of related findings into a new unit,—the new science.

"The same process could be observed in technology. More and more, single methods of practical technology embrace numerous branches of production. Theoretical technology has already evolved disciplines embracing technical rules and laws of a most general nature (machinery construction, technical mechanics, electro-mechanics etc.). Thus, one must not invent the 'general scientific principles of productive processes' or 'the foundations of industry in general'. These unfold hourly, theoretically and practically, in the developmental processes of technological production." One must also achieve a clear understanding of a few more developmental laws, for instance: the acceleration of the productive process; standardization in production; combination, as well as specialization, in productive machinery; principles of localization of industries (near the sources of raw products), and the like.

Education in technical production should offer general technical knowledge and skills in combination with special disciplines. This will be its polytechnism. General education, to the contrary, should offer a minimum of

technical culture in combination with general subjects. This would be its polytechnic role. In polytechnic terms, general-education schools should train the young person to apply his general knowledge to technical problems; to enable him to solve, in a practical manner, problems of production. In other words, a broad general knowledge with some training in its application to a particular branch of production, or technique, will constitute authentic polytechnism.

Shabalov's conclusions met with opposition, to various degrees, from other Soviet educators: M. N. Skatkin, N. K. Goncharov, and M. I. Zaretzki. Separate views were held by D. D. Galanin, J. A. Katz, and A. A. Shibanov.

Skatkin's views were already cited. He was for the introduction of an especially designed subject to implement polytechnic education. His views will be treated, in more detail, again at the end of this chapter.

According to N. K. Goncharov[575], the teaching *core* of the masters on polytechnic education is irrevocable and *sancti sanctorum*. Marx's conclusions regarding "combination of education with productive labor . . ." were verified by Lenin who saw the need of "education parallel with productive labor." Nay, more than that: he saw the need for polytechnic education in 1920, in the then ruined and civil war infested land. Soviet educators, therefore, are duty bound to take the bull by his horns. Polytechnism demands implementation.

According to Goncharoc, both Shabalov and Skatkin were in deep error. Although both recognize that general education and basic sciences are prerequisite, they advocate the introduction of a special subject which is bound to duplicate *a priori* some content of the basic sciences. Although Shabalov speaks of such special subjects half-heartedly, he nevertheless commits the error of moving to "technique not from the basic sciences but from tech-

nique to the foundation of science, i.e., he thus distorts the order of educational subjects, the systematic order of the foundations of science; and, therefore, actually assigns, in the educational process, to educational subjects a part auxiliary to technique."[576] Skatkin's thesis, that one can solve the problem of polytechnism by introducing a special subject for its instruction is equally erroneous. This subject for teaching polytechnism will not result in "combination of education with productive labor. . . ."

Goncharov, therefore, pleads for a systematic program of natural sciences to be taught on Lenin's principle: the "unity of theory and practice." The order of approach is, nevertheless, important. The program of teaching, Goncharov insists, should find its beginning "not from technical phenomena, but, on the contrary, in arriving at them as a result of scientific knowledge; and understanding as to how theoretical knowledge can best be applied."[577] He also suggests the readoption and implementation of polytechnic steps, long advocated by Lenin: the establishment of "polytechnic museums" and excursions to factories, sovkhozy, and the like.

Different views, in agreement with Skatkin, were held by M. I. Zaretzki: "We are deeply convinced that polytechnism cannot be realized fully in the general educational school without the introduction of a new subject which should unfold for the students the rich and remarkable world of technique—the foundations of our contemporary life. . . ."[578]

Meanwhile, the Educational Method Council at the Ministry of Education of the R.S.F.S.R. took polytechnism under discussion. The results of this have not been published, as yet, but M. M. Skatkin utilized some of the materials in his paper "On Polytechnic Instruction in the General Education School."[579] This should be of help in the discussion to follow.

Technical and industrial advances in the Soviet Union aroused interest and desire for more technical education among the Soviet people, especially youth. Hence, the growing importance of polytechnic education. "Without technical knowledge one cannot understand the laws of society and the state of man! one cannot correctly define one's relation to the world. Technical konwledge, therefore, is the most important element of general education, and is necessary for the formation of one's *Weltanschaung.*"[580] It behooved, therefore, Soviet educators "to prepare a detailed system -and content of polytechnic knowledge and labor habits which the general education school is to convey to its students."

But how should this be accomplished? At a discussion on this subject at the Mathematical Section of the Educational Method Council, Professor D. D. Galavin came out in full support of Skatkin. He pleaded for a special course: "Encyclopedia of Technique."[581] In brief, this course would include: history of machine technique, energy, problems of technology and science of commodities, some problems of industrial economics and organization of production, and special technical regional themes.

This thesis met with serious objections which are summarized here: First, the main objective of the school is to offer basic scientific knowledge: "Technique" is not a science, but an art, "the application of the laws of physics, chemistry, mathematics, biology, and other sciences to nature." Second, the existence of technique "in general" is denied. There are separate techniques for agriculture, transportation, and the like. A separate subject such as "technique" is not offered even in a professional school. Third, "the transfer of technical material from physics and chemistry to another separate course will transform the former into dry, abstract, detached from life subjects. On the other hand, a descriptive technique

divorced from theoretical and experimental physics and chemistry will become a scholastic and verbal discipline."[582]

Among other polytechnic proposals, reviewed by the Educational Method Council were: excursions to centers of production, the showing of technical films, and readings of technical literature. One may note that some of the above projects were recommended by Lenin, but they were never implemented. Regarding technical readings, it was M. Gor'ki,[583] who in 1937, suggested the publication of popular scientific series for children. Some of the titles were to be: "How Men Have Learned to Make Their Work and Life Easier," "How Science Changed Men Into Giants", and the like. Recently, the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences undertook to publish a "Children's Encyclopedia" which will also include such themes or subjects.

Two more methods, considered by the Council, should be mentioned here, namely: "practical studies in physics, chemistry and biology to acquaint the students with the natural properties of materials, their production and some methods of same, construction of various instruments, mechanisms, and machines applicable in technique . . ." and "work in the school-shop and on the school-plot."[584]

Regarding the first method, the Council placed itself on the record by listing and elaborating a number of practical studies to be undertaken by teachers of physics, chemistry, and similar disciplines. As for the school-shops, these were closed in 1937 by the authorities and the Council could only regret this liquidation. On the other hand, materials were submitted to the Council by J. A. Katz, Specialist in Technical Services, who considered the "method of mass training in labor habits, in the so-called school-shops as outdated and most expensive."[585]

It is outdated because its primitive elementary methods are out of gear and in contradiction to those employed in modern industry. It also inculcates bad technical habits found difficult later to erase or unlearn. The method is found to be very expensive because it requires large equipment and a very large number of highly qualified instructors for production of materials having no industrial value whatever.

The efforts and research continued. Two other measures, although not new, were suggested: first, the organization of special (school or inter-school) factories, railways for children to instruct them in practical production, and second, the inclusion of youth in real factories, and the like, for the purpose of instruction in production.

Polytechnic Gymnasiya, and Research

As for the first, J. A. Katz proposed the establishment of "polytechnic gymnasii."[586] This would mean the organization at each secondary school of a compact highly mechanized establishment at which the students would pass through a systematic instruction in production. The second suggestion, direct participation in production, the Council thought, was not only pedagogically feasible but also economical for the State. In connection with this, some educators suggested a compromise: the establishment of special educational shops *(utchebniye tzekhy)* or departments at real factories, railways, and the like.

At the pedagogical section of the Council, A. A. Shibanov proposed the organization of compulsory two-weeks agricultural work in the *kolkhozy* and *sovkhozy* for all students of the city and village schools.[587] The Section was sympathetic toward this project. It was thought that an instructive exposure to agricultural work would

enhance the youth's technical education.

All those projects demanded further exploration. It was decided to undertake, first, intensive experimental research in the area of practical complex production and its possible integration with theoretical physics, chemistry, mathematics, and the like. With numerous and varied projects on the polytechnic agenda, their further exploration, description, experimentation and verification became necessary. Such undertakings were time consuming, and the final program formulation would have to wait.

With this, M. N. Skatkin disagreed. "In order to learn to swim, one must plunge into the water," he quoted Lenin. Therefore, one must, Skatkin stated: "immediately undertake to realize a number of accessible practical measures in the realm of polytechnic education for the students of the secondary school." He suggested twelve steps[588] for immediate implementation. These will be listed briefly, as follows:

1. The broadening of curricula for the acquaintance of students with the applications of the laws of nature and society to technique;
2. The organization and practical verification of a course in "Technique";
3. Publication of a series of readers on problems of technique for extracurricular readings;
4. Preparation of educational technical films;
5. Equipment of physical, chemical and biological rooms and intensification of practical studies in these subjects;
6. Organization of excursions to centers of production outlined in a guide or manual of instructions for teachers;
7. Organization of school-shops and agricultural plots, outlined in a guide or manual of instructions for teachers;

8. Development of extra-curricular work in production and agriculture;
9. Organization of polytechnic museums, and utilization of those already in existence;
10. Organization of summer agricultural practice in the *kolkhozy* and *sovkhozy,*
11. Continuous development of the pre-war childrens' railways and shops;
12. Experimental organization, during the summer vacation, of students' practical work in various factories, railways, and the like.

These all require research and experimentation, and it would be foolhardy to demand their universal and compulsory implementation. But broad initiative must be granted to those schools which are ready to venture in these directions. The future results of such experiences by the advanced schools will serve as theoretical generalization and basis for further experimentation, and the broadening of experience.

Polytechnism thus underwent a long interesting development. Born in the British Factory Education Acts; conceived by Marx as his great principle of future Communist education; adapted with some shortcomings by the Paris Commune; upheld by the Marxian orthodoxy; incorporated into the education program of the Russian Communist Party; reinterpreted and literally Leninized by Lenin to fit Russian conditions and reality; implemented as an integral part of Soviet education in the U.S.S.R. schools; abolished in practice for some time by the TSIK and the *Sovnarcom* from all Soviet educational institutions,—polytechnism presently came back to the fore as an old-new issue for possible resurrection.

Grounded in the heart of Marxian educational theory, being its *sine qua non* principle and as such accepted by

Marx's followers, its authenticity was wholeheartedly recognized by the Soviet. Yet, despite its inclusion in the Soviet school curricula and the earnest efforts at its implementation, polytechnism failed to obtain a firm footing in the Soviet school and thus come to a meaningful or gainful expression.

In the past, the difficulties in the path of a working polytechnism were enormous and perhaps unsurmountable. The present contains some promises and points to new attempts and endeavors in the realm of polytechnism. The lines along which the new planning and experimentation will follow were indicated here, and from the discussion the reader may form some opinion on the matter. One thing is clear: polytechnism is an important tenet in Marxian educational theory. In the past, the Soviet has shown a tenacity in the continuity of Marxian Fundamentals. As in the latter, polytechnism will probably be firmly adhered to until new theory will link with practice, again, in accordance with the principle: "Unity of Theory and Practice."

At this point, the discussion of polytechnism may be brought to a close. Attention will be turned now to questions of ideology, and the most recent Soviet views on educational goals, in terms of vision and actuality.

Part 8

Vision and Actuality

Chapter Eighteen

EDUCATION FOR THE END: THE CLASSLESS SOCIETY

Three Phases of the October Revolution

THERE are three phases of the October Revolution, according to some Soviet authorities.[589] The first commenced with the October uprising and ended with the liquidation of the exploiter's class. The latter marked the beginning of the second phase which came to a close with the proclamation of the Constitution of 1936,—the beginning of socialism. The present, the third phase, is the most crucial and important. It signifies the transfer from socialism to communism. The latter is the goal of the present period.

The Role of Ideology

On the economic base, the Soviet, it is claimed, has made great strides toward communism. The role which education played in motivating, promoting, and "stamping in" the necessary stamina for the colossal job is well

recognized by Soviet authorities. Under definite encouragement, Soviet educators point proudly to successes in this direction.[590] They are, however, equally critical in others. Upon careful examination of Soviet educational literature, one is impressed with the penetrating frank analysis of quantative and qualitative failures, on the one hand, and exuberating statements on successes achieved, on the other.

There is, finally, one area where Soviet educators are extremely watchful and vigilant: the ideological. Failures in any area are to be reprimanded but, after detection, they can and will be, after an effort, corrected. A failure on the ideological level carries consequences which are physically intangible but cut deeply.

Hence, the attention paid by Soviet educators to philosophy and theory of education. To plan for tomorrow one must understand the present, the birthchild of days past. Similarly, an historical examination of education at various stages of societal development should supply the proper understanding of the new Soviet society's educational base.

At the danger of repetition, a Soviet educational analysis of pre-Soviet societies is presented here. A definition of education, and its functions, will precede it.

"The subject of pedagogy is the nurture of the young generation, i.e., the planned and purposeful preparation for future participation in social life. The nurture of the young generation is a social function at all stages of youth's development. Just as labor, in Marx's terms, is the natural condition of human life characteristic of all its historical epochs,—education, according to Lenin, is also the general and eternally social category."[591]

But this "social category," education, differed with the various stages of social development. In primitive society —the primitive communal order—education was poor

and limited, but classless. It is at the end of this stage that private property made its appearance. The slavery society, which followed it, was definitely characterized by a class education. Greece (VI-IV centuries) has two systems of education: the Spartan and that of Athens. The aim of Spartan education was to strengthen the rule of the slave owner and the subjugation of the slaves and other subordinate groups of the population. While Athens was at a higher stage of social and economic development, it also pursued a class education, to retain the privileges of the freeborn. The feudal society, in its education of the knights and the clergy, aimed to strengthen the feudal order. Capitalist society, at its various stages of development, also devised systems of education in its own interests: the two track system—general and special for the ruling classes on the one hand, and provision of the three R's for the children of the masses, on the other. In any educational concessions for the masses, capitalist education was always "interventionist", in its own favor.

Now, the objective of the Soviet school, as recently stated, will explain its vigilance over ideology and interest in philosophy which must be conveyed to the young learner despite difficulties in communication: "The objective of our school is to bring up youth as educated and cultural citizens capable of fighting for the final establishment of communism. . . . There is not a subject in the curriculum which could not, with proper organization, help [to implement] this general objective. . . . Although it is very difficult for school youth to orient independently in complicated and subtle forms of the struggle between the idealist and materialist world outlooks (for which a philosophical preparation is necessary), youth can none the less on the basis of the educational material, offered at school, acquire a clear and firm picture of the principal distinction between the philosophic viewpoints,

the essence of the difference, and the superiority of materialism."[592]

The new society—the classless—can assure itself of realization and existence if it can acquire and retain a new mind. Education—the weapon—is to perform this operation. But, first, pedagogy itself must become permeated with a communist ideology. This became a slogan which assumed a terrific drive and campaign, to begin, in Soviet literature and the press.

The opening gun was A. A. Zhdanov's report on the periodicals "Zviezda" and "Leningrad."[593] Zhdanov bitterly criticized these journals for their "remoteness from the contemporary Soviet theme . . . and . . . the attempt at preoccupation with purely entertaining and idle subjects." He pointed out that writers, in Stalin's terms, "engineers of human souls" have a tremendous responsibility in the education of youth. In these times, the period of transfer from socialism to communism, educational forces in whatever capacity must gird themselves ideologically, and communicate their faith and strength to the learners.

Zhdanov's paper, read at a gathering of Leningrad's writers, was inspired by a resolution on the same subject by the CCCP. Nearly all pedagogical organs followed suit. The most reputable journal, *Sovietskaya pedagogika* had an editorial on the same subject.[594] In fact, even this journal, published by the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, was criticized for lack of "clear direction."[595]

The ideological direction was clearly pointed out by the minister of Education, A. T. Kalashnikov, when he stated that "boys and girls, completing the Soviet school, must be in possession of the most important elements of the Communist *Weltanschaung*. . . ."[596]

This ideological direction, for the sake of clarity, could

be broken up into its components:[597] Soviet patriotism; bolshevist vigilance; socialist attitude toward public and personal property; realism to withstand the alien ideology inherited from the psychology of private property ownership and petty bourgeois moods; socialist humanics; collectivism and comradeship; communist attitude toward labor and social responsibilities; conscious discipline; honesty and truthfulness; strong will; courage and persistence; cultural behavior, cleanliness, courtesy, compliance and tactfulness. However, in order to avoid an artificial split of the united educational process, the educator must integrate their interrelationships with a communist moral unity. A thoughtful, persistent education on these lines will produce, according to Soviet educators, the new men of the classless society.

The Abolition of Contradictions

Marx and Lenin were severe in their criticism of two capitalist contradictions which found their expression in education: the contradiction between city and country and that between physical and intellectual labor. The first, the Soviet claims, was basically undermined as a result of socialized production and collectivized agriculture. The complete mechanization and electrification of agriculture are bringing, presently, this reconciliation to a successful conclusion. The second contradiction, between physical and intellectual labor, it is possible to erase only with a complete levelling off of classes in the classless society, which is in the coming. To accomplish this, it is necessary to raise the cultural, educational, and technical levels of the workers and peasants under conditions of present socialist Soviet society. It is for Soviet education to face this problem and work towards its solution.[598]

The Withering Away of the State

The objective placed before the Soviet people, and their educators, of the gradual transfer from their present socialist state to one of a communist and classless order naturally reawakened the old question of the existence of a "State" under communism.

Stalin understood to answer this question when he asked: "Will the State continue to exist under communism? . . . Yes, it will exist if the capitalist encirclement will continue. . . . No, the State will cease to exist and wither away if capitalist encirclement will be supplanted by socialist encirclement."[599] There is no question then of the "withering away of the school," as taught some time ago by Shul'gin. It will probably continue to exist even under "socialist encirclement." Its objective, however, will change to meet new needs and goals.

The Soviet Educator Among New Men

Already the Soviet claims that theirs is a new society "where the relationships between the life needs of the masses and the continuously developing sciences are clear and uncontradictory."[600] One the other hand, one reads of the hard life and work of the Soviet scientist and educator who overworks under the strains flowing from demands of the learners, his colleagues, and the State. The following note should supply the underlying tone of this consanguinity. M. I. Kalinin, speaking on the most desirable qualities of an educator, as a human, had the following to say: "The educator must possess, among other qualities, the following: honesty, courage, comradeship, love for labor, and direct-mindedness. . . . What human quality should be recognized, first? Love, love for the

people, love for the toiling masses. Man must love man. He who loves people will live better. He will live a life of joy. . . ."[601]

There is lack of scientific information, here, as to the Soviet educator's universal possession of these high qualities. One thing is clear, however: the Soviet educator has changed under the impact of the forceful events in his land. So have the people of Russia, for the same reasons, and by force of education—the weapon—used by the state and directed at their transformation. "Today we are not the same as we were yesterday; and what we were yesterday we shall not be tomorrow. We are not the same Russian men as we were up to 1917. Neither is Russia the same, and our character already differs. We have changed and grown together with those mighty transformations which have altered radically the countenance of our land."[602]

Conclusion

CONCLUSION

THE preceding chapters attempted, among other things, to present a century of educational thinking which in many respects differs from contemporary Western education.

It should be worthwhile to recapitulate the milestones of Marxian and, what is considered as its continuity, Soviet education. The landmarks of Marxian-Soviet education can be seen better against the background of a panoramic difference on the conception of State structure and practice between the Soviet and that of the West, with bearings of these differences upon some of the educational channels.

FIGURE IX

Contradiction in State Bases Expressed in Educational Channels

SOVIET		AMERICAN
BASE:		
statist collectivist	*vs.*	individualist, free-enterprise and corporate economy.
EDUCATION:		
statist communist	*vs.*	private, group, county, state, etc., sponsored education.
PRESS:		
one party press	*vs.*	individualist and chain press.

As shown elsewhere in this work, criticism of capitalist educational practice preceded the emergence of Marxist-

Soviet educational principles. These will be shown, figuratively, in two parts: Marxist and Pre-Soviet. Marxist criticism will be given in the following figure.

FIGURE X

Marxist Criticism of Capitalist Education and Substitutes Proclaimed

CAPITALIST NEGATIVE ASPECTS		MARXIAN CURATIVES
Contradiction	*Educational Effects*	
Economic	lack of provision; "two-track" system; "intervention" for *status quo;* bourgeois ideology	socialized economy; "one-track" education; "intervention" for change; transitory society education.
City and country.	lack of educational provision; neglect of rural education; urban concentration, and factory industrialized family; lack of leisure and education under factory conditions; self-enforced rudiments of factory-child education	Educational provision and spread; better and more education, education-labor combination
Intellectual and physical labor	degradation of physical as compared with intellectual labor; one class-bourgeois-intellectualism and intellectuals, divorce between physical and intellectual labor	education-labor combination; communist intellectualism; intellectual and physical labor conciliation in the classless society.

One will note that criticism of capitalist education, after Marx, by the pre-Soviet socialists (and the Soviet) followed on lines indicated by the masters. New developments, and Russian reality, have strengthened their disciples' faith in the invincibleness of the Marxist doctrines; and added new impetus to the forces of the revolution.

FIGURE XI

Pre-Soviet Criticism of Capitalist Education and Substitute Proclaimed

CAPITALIST NEGATIVE ASPECTS		MARXIAN CURATIVES
Contradiction	*Educational Effects*	
Economic:	lack of provision, "two-track" education, educational "intervention" for *status quo*.	socialized economy; socialized "one-track" education; "intervention" for change; transitory, socialist, communist education.
City and Country:	poor educational provision; neglect of rural education; thought-police control; educational bureaucracy	educational spread; better and more education; polytechnism; full reconciliation in classless society.
Intellectual and physical labor:	divorce between intellectual and physical labor, one class-bourgeois-intellectualism and intellectuals	polytechnism; labor, the imperative category; full reconciliation in the classless society.
Intergroup or intercultural	discrimination in educational provision, admission, and professional employment	group-culture education with a common denominator: education for the classless society.

The above figures (IX, X, XI) should bring into focus the dichotomy between Soviet education and that of the West, as of today. However, an overestimation or underestimation of these aspects, or variables, is frought with danger. Overestimation may show these aspects as embodying reciprocally exclusive units between which an understanding for collaboration, in certain important areas, would be impractical. Underestimation, on the other hand, may create an evaluation of these aspects below par or validity in force. The dangers can be avoided by an educational process. Education can interpret, with

proper balance, the meaning of these opposites. A balanced comprehension, forthcoming from a planned educational process, is bound to create common ground conducive to consonance and concord in practical educational matters. This is urgent in a torn-apart world.

As a result of two world wars, nearly all of the civilized world is in the grip of a social revolution the full meaning of which must be grasped for proper estimation and adjustive action. Indeed, on the one hand, the "Old World" in seeking a way out of economic misery is passing through convulsions and ideological confusion. In the midst of anxiety, one of the solutions offered for the problems of a postwar world is a socialized economy or collectivism. Some nations, of Eastern Europe, in one form or another, are presently experimenting with this; and already much of their educational effort is harnessed toward that goal. Moreover, organized education superstructured on their changed economic base is directed as a weapon at those in a state of indecision. One may predict that this is bound to effect, to some degree, the economic and social base of the West. On the other hand, a large human and geographical unit—like America—nearly untouched by the war, preserved its free-enterprise structure and achieved a degree of cultural-economic production and distribution unequaled in history. Indeed, American standards in some of the social, economic and educational achievements are considered, by many learned students of society, to be of considerable merit.

The past, however, of this civilization is not without a blemish. The question arises, What makes this individualized boundless human energy, first, to overproduce; and, following that, in self-contradiction, to create interchanging wants and abundance in production and distribution,—these in turn to result further in deep rever-

berations, maladjustments in social relations and deteriorated attitudes towards "out-groups"? Why is it that, even in times of economic stability, industry and education continues to discriminate against certain American minorities? One hesitates to state that in the educational field, as well as in other fields, many a head and administrator of American higher educational institutions would be found responsible for gone-astray and left to waste talent and ability which—if not for this discriminative policy—could be of gain to America and American education.

On the other hand, questions, of a familiar nature, invite themselves on the agenda: "Why does the whole post-war world depend upon American production? Why did American industry outproduce the entire Axis in the war? Why, even before the war, with only 6 percent of the world's population, did we produce so much that we had 47 percent of the radios, 49 percent of the telephones, and 72 percent of the automobiles? Why was the average factory worker in the United States able to buy 7.5 pounds of bread with the proceeds of one hour of work, while the comparable figures in other countries were: Great Britain, 5.2 pounds; France, 5 pounds; Belgium, 4.9 pounds; Italy, 2.8 pounds; Germany, 2.5 pounds; Russia, 1.9 pounds."[603]

Again, one may ask as to how in the midst of such comparative abundance the American people were refused the necessary security for more material consumption and a just opportunity to all for intellectual productive ingenuity? Could it be that America, which became the leader in technical creativity, has somehow lagged or failed in compassion for fellow Americans and ideative conception of an American destiny for all-round equalitarianism? Is it possible that in its economic overoccupation, on the one hand, and continental political isolation,

on the other, America was caught by a self-projected tide of social provincialism?

These questions require impassionate study. Materials supplying facts and data must be accumulated for painful analysis and finding as to which—why, when and how—constituents of a social system tick or conflict. Courageous investigations, to include comparative analysis of structure and social functions of other systems, should be undertaken if this will enhance knowledge in ways of economic democracy and social betterment. Pains should be taken to integrate and expose optimum democratic aspects conducive toward social cohesion—within the light of world economic and demographic composition.

To be sure, the world is in dire need of mutual help and cooperation, the process of which can be mitigated and fructified by education. Generally, there is much to gain for all sides from concurrent effort and labor. Educators and social scientists should, and *can,* be especially geared to share in an ideative and implemental process. To make this meaningful and fruitful, it must be built, however, on knowledge gained from scientific study of historical backgrounds, national characteristics, and the like.

A comparative study of Soviet and American education, in terms of outlook and developmental process with a view toward the future, would serve a useful purpose. Space will permit a few random notes only on some comparative aspects of Soviet and American education. None the less, a compact presentation will throw sufficient light to point at considerable superimposed rigidity of Soviet education, on the one hand, and energized *laissez faire* in American education, on the other.

The attempt, in this work, to review a century of Marxian education, its achievements as well as its shortcomings, should have brought to light material in support of

the above contention with regard to Soviet education. The discussion to follow should also add weight to the assertion on American education.

Except for seventy-two days of the Paris Commune, Marxism succeeded in functioning for thirty years (1917-1947) in Russia. During these three decades the Soviet has pressed irresistibly toward the final goal—the communist classless State. At this stage, the *socialized,* education is directed firmly as an educational, nurtural and ideological weapon, for the realization of communism. The student of Soviet education will note that, in this process, there might have been concessions, retrenchments and retractions; but nearly all of these were of a temporary nature. The foundations, theoretical and practical, always remained. Today, in continuation of its firm and direct line, and in consonance with the Soviet economic base, education aims to labor in the nurture of Soviet men for transition from socialism to communism.

What deeply impresses the American educator is that in their militancy and religious zeal the Soviet failed to take due note of American educational achievements and contributions which constitute no minor contribution toward the world's welfare. Lest this statement be inferred as an expression of restful ostentation, the student of American education may project, for the moment, a minute mental panarama: American education, stemming out from religious motivation; marching through formal culture and practical utility; assuming the task of securilization and liberalism; raising the first crusade for the Common Schools; founding new methods of progressive acculturation; extending education of women, and the like. This listing could be continued at length. However, space and subject continuity will not permit it. It will suffice therefore to insert a short note that American educational philosophy conceives education as

a lifelong process representing the individual's—and the group's—response to all physical, material and cultural factors of the environment. This implies, of course, the recognition of man's daily needs, the role of the group, the underlying material basis and an apportioned reciprocal social praxis.

At this point, in connection with the aforesaid, one ventures to point at several areas where American education must itensify its efforts. In fact, the stake of American education, its further progressive development, as well as the welfare of the American people, depends on the degree and time-budgeting of intensive planning and application in several areas. In short, there is need for a range of action in the following realms: centralized-autonomous educational research and guidance; educational socialization of the natural sciences; and a stronger integration of American education with the education and culture of the civilized world. A discussion follows:

The foremost and *sine qua non* need is concerted research. Research may be defined as the application of exact procedures closely conforming to accepted scientific requirements, for the purpose of solving a problem, testing hypotheses, discovering new phenomena or new relations between them. Social research, with some qualifications, could fall under this definition. However, efforts to define educational research have always been beset with difficulties. Among the reasons for the perplexity *two* should be mentioned here. First, the traditional association of education with schooling created a handicap toward the conceptualization of education in its broader sense. Second, in the United States, there is still considerable dissension as to whether education should be considered as a technology, a science or as an art. Some educators, eclectically, would accept education as both: an art and a science. These erroneous notions, the narrow

assignment of education and its contracting definition, caused obstacles in the way of progressive well-rounded development of educational research.

May one inject an augmentative note that education, as a life-long process and historical category, was never confined, exclusively, within cloistered walls. Education, within the frame of this conception, began historically, with man's life on earth and will probably end with the finale of both. Education *is* life. Therein it has developed, and is still improving, techniques to hold and perfect the richer and better part of itself. Some of these techniques have reached a high degree of accomplishment so as to constitute an art, a controlled and spontaneous activity requiring ingenuity and contrivance. Finally, through systematic observational conceptualization of social relationships and social processes, education has fortified itself as the edifice of socially useful action, the science of social growth and social purposefulness.

To return: explicitly, the aims and objectives of education, and ways of their realization, are sufficiently inclusive to tax the efforts of any number of scholars, educators, and educational bodies. There is need, then, to induce a common meaning and over-all purpose into the various research efforts of schools, universities, research bureaus, and the like.. Although the autonomy and diversity of research should be encouraged, waste of effort and resources is to be discouraged. Today, the laborious processes of educational research are scattered and incoherent in unity of drive and goals. There is need for intelligent mobilization of America's scientific resources, especially in education. If the physical sciences have given the control of nature, the social sciences, education included, opened to man new vistas for self-understanding and inspiring conception of his interrelationship with nature and his surroundings. It is therefore the aim of

education, above all, to point out as to how, in what manner and for which purpose, the innermost forces of man's intellect and ideational apparatus—as well as the modern scientific tools—should be directed and used in accord with newly gained social insight. With meagre knowledge available on the technique of such intricate operation, research is essential to bring forth scientific means as to how this can be best accomplished.

As an outcrop of this, education, must lend itself to the task of *socializing* the natural sciences. The interconnection between man's accomplishments in the natural sciences and the manifold effects of the former on man's modes of production and social relations should not be left any longer as a matter of discussion and interpretation to a limited group of scholars only. This interdependence, with its hazards and benefactions, should be brought into view daily at all places in the educational process, including literature and scientific texts, by all available tools and means.

This task, however, cannot be any longer gainfully performed on the level of one country, nation, or limited sphere of political influence. Narrowing the field of action, contracting the object of education would lead only, as heretofore, to provincialism and isolation. Similar to the international educational operation on a world scale (UNESCO), there is need for an American front in education, to be world-minded and sensitive to the latter's tribulations, hopes and aspirations.

Should this become the American point of view, it cannot be accomplished by any individual, or group, but by a central body. Time is pressing for a United States Department of Education, the latter to be set up administratively with a representative group of educators in consultative capacity. Among the various objectives of such a Department could be: coordination with the

National Science Foundation, if and when established; international education for America, in terms of a unified world culture, this to be coordinated with the UNESCO; interpretation of American education, and America, to the world; and, coordination of educational research within the light of national needs conditioned by those of the world.

Clearly, the basic need today is not so much scientific control of nature as the adequacy of man's living among men. Coordinated research, therefore, should be directed at evolving an educational process wherein man, living in an interwoven world, could be educated in giving himself more to man for the good of all. Already, many educators are aware of man's urgent need for a unified world. Today, American and Soviet educators should place themselves in a position to evolve a working relationship towards that goal.

As for the efficacy of American education, its dynamics and strength for progressive adjustment have proven, in the past, a capacity to absorb the lessons of history and to constitute a vanguard on the educational front. It remains for Soviet education to prove, reciprocally, that it is equally strong in asserting itself unitedly with American educational progressiveness.

Concerning dogmas, their weight cannot be underestimated. But "nothing can be more unphilosophical than to be positive or dogmatical on any subject." There is an awareness here on the importance of ideology. But a considered appraisal as to what—how and when—theory can turn into practice, should cause some thought on the subject.

The unity of theory and practice demands that theory which does not work is to be revised within the light of practicality and material actuality. This is applicable to education, Soviet as well as American. Stagnant vogue,

doctrine or dogma, present the strongest psychological barrier toward the formation of common-mindedness. Fortunately, educational internationalism is not an aspiration but a fact. It is therefore opportune, by concerted effort, to use it as a force and weapon for the world's enlightment.

Notes on Chapters

NOTES ON CHAPTERS

Chapter One

1. Frederich Albert Lange, *History of Materialism* (2 vols., Boston, 1880), II, 246. For a recent summary of definitions on materialism see Henry Felix Mins, Jr., *Materialism, the Scientific Bias* (New York, 1934), pp. 5ff.
2. On the problem of ontology, the several schools of thought may be classified as: pluralism (cf. Democritus in C. M. Bakewell, *Source Book in Ancient Philosophy* [New York, 1907], p. 60, or Leukippos in J Burnet, *Greek Philosophy* [London, 1928], p. 96, and J. W. Leibnitz, *The Monadology* [Clarendon Press, 1898], pp. 300f.); dualism (cf. Descartes, *Passions of the Soul,* tr. by Haldane & Ross [Cambridge, 1911], I, 347); and monism, which recognizes one sort of essence in everything. There are also three distinct forms of monism: spiritualism (cf. F. H. Bradley, *Appearance and Reality* [London, 1893]); identity theory (cf. B. Spinoza, *Ethics,* tr. by R. Elwes [London, 1884]); and materialism.
3. Ludwig Feuerbach, *Grundsätze der Philosophie der Zukunft* (Leipzig, 1849), p. 81, quoted in Lange, *op. cit.,* II, 249f.
4. On the other hand, even Feuerbach's materialism is not purely egotistic: "The individual man by himself does not contain the nature of man himself, either in himself as a moral or as a thinking being. The nature of man is contained only in the community, in the unity of man with man—unity, however, which rests only upon the reality of the distinction of I and Thou" Quoted in Lange, *op. cit,* II, 255 Feuerbach's materialism can, therefore, be denoted as "Tuism."
5. Cf. W. Windelband, *History of Philosophy* (New York, 1923), pp. 670ff.
6. Karl Marx, "Marx uber Feuerbach," *Marx-Engels histor-*

isch-kritische Gesamtausgabe, V, 535 (1929-), hereafter cited as *Gesamtausgabe.*

7. Friederich Engels, "Feuerbach," *Gesamtausgabe,* V, 538f.
8. Marx, "Aus den deutsch-französischen Jahrbüchern," *Gesamtausgabe,* vol. 1, part 1, p. 620f.
9. Engels, in his preface, written in London January 30, 1888, to the *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* first published in German (London, 1848): "When I again met Marx at Brussels in Spring 1845 he had it [historical materialism] already worked out."
10. First published in French in Paris, 1847; see *Misère de la Philosophie.* Réponse à la Philosophie de la Misère de M. Proudhon in *Gesamtausgabe,* vol. 6, part 1, pp. 117-221. The quotations to follow are from H. Quelch's translation (Charles H. Kerr Co., [Chicago 1910]).
11. Marx, "The Metaphysics of Political Economy," in *Poverty of Philosophy,* trans. H. Quelch (Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago [1910]), p. 119.
12. Marx and Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (International Publishers, New York, n.d.).
13. *Ibid.,* p. 28.
14. *Ibid.,* p. 6.
15. Marx, *Wage-Labor and Capital,* ed. Algernon Lee (New York, 1926), p. 94.
16. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* trans. N. I. Stone (New York, 1904), pp. 11-13.
17. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific,* trans. Edward Aveling (Charles Kerr & Co., Chicago, n d), p. 94.
18. *Poverty of Philosophy,* p. 112.
19. *The Logic of Hegel,* tr. from the Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences by William Wallace (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1822), pp. 158ff. Cf. Evender Beadley McGilvary, *The Principle and the Method of the Hegelian Dialectic* (Reprint from *Philosophical Review,* vol. 6, no. 5, Univ. of California (1897), p. 497); also, M. Mc. E. McTaggart, *Studies in the Hegelian Dialectic* (C.U.P., 1896, 259pp.), p. 32: "It has been held that the dialectic process has no reference whatever to experience, but takes place in pure

thought considered apart from anything else."

20. Johannes Mattern, *Concepts of State, Sovereignty and International Law* (Baltimore, 1928), p. 36.
21. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, p. 85.
22. Cf., for instance, Algernon Lee, *The Essentials of Marx* (New York, 1926), p. 4.
23. Marx, Preface to Second German Edition of *Capital*, written in London, January 24, 1873, in *Capital, The Process of Capitalist Production*, trans Eden and Cedar Paul (4th ed., New York, 1929), p. 873.
24. *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, p. 88.
25. *Supra*, p 14f.
26. Cf. Carl Becker, "Everyman His Own Historian," *American Historical Review*, XXXVII (January 1932), pp 323ff., in a comment on Fustel de Coulanges: "It is not I who speak, but history which speaks through me," was Fustel's reproof to applauding students. "If a certain philosophy emerges from this scientific history, it must be permitted to emerge naturally, of its own accord, all but independently of the will of the historian." On this Becker comments. "Thus the scientific historian deliberately renounced philosophy only to submit to it without being aware." This applies also to Marx.
27. Maurice Mandelbaum, *The Problem of Historical Knowledge*, (New York), [1938], p. 17.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-37, especially p. 36: "the doctrine of relativism holds that no historical account can faithfully depict the past, since, first, the actual occurrences of history are richer in content than any account of them can possibly be; second, because the continuity and structure which historical works necessarily possess do not afford a true parallel to the continuity and structure which characterize the events of history; and, third, because the historian of necessity passes value-judgments, and these are relevant to the present but not to the past."

 Cf. also Arthur O. Lovejoy, "Present Standpoints and Past History," *The Journal of Philosophy*, August 31, 1939, No. 18, XXXVI, 477-489, and Sterling P. Lamprecht, "Histori-

ography of Philosophy," *The Journal of Philosophy,* August 17, 1939, No. 17, XXXVI, 449-460.

29. Marx, *Manifesto,* p. 1.
30. "By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage labor. By proletariat, the class of modern wage-laborers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor power in order to live." *Ibid.,* p. 46.
31. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific,* p. 127.
32. Cf. Marx, *Capital,* p. 136. As for the conception of "value" it underwent several changes in the history of economic thought. The first to ascribe the almost exclusive source of value to labor was John Locke: "it is labor indeed that puts the difference of value on everything." L. H. Haney, *History of Economic Thought,* (N. Y. 1920), p. 120. According to Haney, the conception of "surplus value" may be traced to William Thompson, an Irish socialist, "whose fame has been less than his deserves." Marx's originality lies in his reformulation and his attempts to apply this concept as a fact in his theory of the State and class struggle. *Ibid.,* pp. 391-92 and 444.
33. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* p. 11.
34. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (London, 1926), p. 23.
35. This view is upheld by recent Marxist interpreters. See M. Kammaris's article, "The Role of Personality in History," in *Pod znamenem marksizma,* 1935, no. 1, pp. 31-50. Therein he says that when the objective conditions for an historical task are set, then the subjective factor is the strong deciding element. Cf. this with the relationship between will and knowledge as given in M. M. Furshik, *Philosophia Marksizma i sovremënnaya sozial demokratiya* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1936), p. 242. The English translation of this book-title, and the others cited in the pages following, are given in the Bibliography, at the end of this volume.
36. See p. 32, *infra.*

Chapter Two

37. In the "Theses on Feuerbach," Marx accused Feuerbach of underestimating the conscious influence of the individual. The third thesis says that the materialistic doctrine—that men represent a product of conditions and education and that, therefore, changed men are the product of changed conditions and education—forgets that conditions are really changed by men and that the educator himself should be educated. In a sense, men are a result of the new education, but that new education is really shaped by men. Cf. "Marx über Feuerbach," *Gesamtausgabe,* vol. 5, part 1, p. 534.
38. Marx, "Marx über Feuerbach," *Gesamtausgabe,* vol. 5, part 1, p. 534.
39. Marx and Engels, "Die deutsche Ideologie," *Gesamtausgabe,* vol. 5, part 1, p. 15.
40. *Ibid.,* p. 16.
41. *Ibid.,* p. 15.
42. *Ibid.,* p. 17.
43. *Ibid.*
44. Cf. A. Vyshinski, *Otcherki po istorii kommunizma,* (Ogiz, Moscow 1925) pp. 34-65. It is to be noted that Marx was not the first to relate the origin of the State to the protection of property and the division of classes. Adam Smith declared in 1766 that "whenever there is great property, there is great inequality. . . . It is only under the shelter of the civil magistrate that the owner of that valuable property . . . can sleep a single night in security. He is at all times surrounded by unknown enemies. . . . The acquisition of valuable extensive property, therefore, necessarily requires the establishment of civil government. Where there is no property . . . civil government is not so necessary." Adam Smith, *Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* (London, 1908), II, 228. Similarly, Rousseau, a contemporary of Adam Smith, described thus the beginning of the State. "The first man, who having enclosed a piece of ground, bethought himself of saying *this is mine,* and found people simple enough to believe him, was the real founder

of civil society." Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract and Discourses,* trans. G. D. H. Cole (London, 1935), p. 207. Rousseau's italics.

45. "Die deutsche Ideologie," *Gesamtausgabe,* vol. 5, part 1, p. 35: "die Klasse, welche die herrschende materielle Macht der Gesellschaft ist, ist zugleich ihre herrschende geistige Macht."
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
48. See pp. 13ff., *supra,* on the relation between the modes of production and productive relations.
49. *Manifesto,* p. 29.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
51. "Die deutsche Ideologie," *Gesamtausgabe,* vol. 5, part 1, p. 37.
52. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire,* p. 22.
53. Engels to Schtarkenberg, January 1, 1894 in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence* 1846-1895 (London, 1934), p. 517.
54. Engels' distinction between 'foundation' and superstructure': Economics is the "foundation" of human society. The various ideologies and intellectual productions are the "superstructures" on the economic foundation. *Ibid.*, p. 475, Engels to Joseph Bloch, Sept. 21, 1890.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 482, Engels to Konrad Schmidt, Oct. 27, 1890.
56. Cf. Ch. I, *supra,* pp. 21ff.
57. Engels to J. Bloch, Sept. 21, 1890. *Correspondence* 1846-1895, p. 475.
58. As a result of the factory system and the invention of modern machinery, the productive process had become social; however, this social or cooperative process is appropriated in vast organizations by a few men whom Marx calls capitalists. See his definition of "capitalist" in *Capital,* p. 138f.
59. "Die deutsche Ideologie," *Gesamtausgabe,* vol. 5, part 1, p. 39.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
62. *Capital,* p. 137f. Marx, discussing the circulation of capital.

mentioned Aristotle's distinction between economics and chrematistics. The art of gaining a livelihood is necessary and useful, and this he calls economics. Chrematistics is the art of making money. For chrematistics, circulation is the source of wealth, and money is the beginning and end of this kind of exchange. See Aristotle, *Politics,* trans. J. Welldon, (London, 1883), Bk. I, Chs. III, IX.

63. "Die deutsche Ideologie," *Gesamtausgabe,* vol. 5, part 1, p. 21.
64. *Ibid.,* p. 372.
65. Marx thus presents the artists of the future communist society: "In einer kommunistischen Gesellschaft gibt es Keine Maler sondern höchstens Menschen, die unter Anderm auch malen." *Ibid.,* p. 373.
66. *The Poverty of Philosophy,* p. 156f.
67. *Capital,* p. 451.
68. *Ibid.,* p. 383.
69. *Ibid.*
70. Adam Smith, *Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (London, 1908), II, 301f.
71. Cf: "But though the common people cannot, in any civilized society, be so well instructed as people of some rank and fortune, the most essential facts of education, however, to read, write, and account, can be acquired at so early a period of life. . . . The public can encourage the acquisition of those most essential parts of education. . . ." *Ibid.,* p. 305.
72. "Though the state was to derive no advantage from the instruction of the inferior ranks of people, it would still deserve its attention that they should not be altogether uninstructed." *Ibid.,* p. 308.
73. "Arbeitslohn," *Gesamtausgabe,* vol. 6, part 1, p. 461f.
74. Cf. Plekhanov and Education, p. 86f, *infra.*
75. "Arbeitslohn," *Gesamtausgabe,* vol. 6, part 1, p. 461f.
76. Engels, *Herrn Eugen Dührings' Umwälzung der Wissenschaft* (2nd ed., Zürich, 1886), p. 281.
77. *Ibid.,* p. 283.

Chapter Three

78. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* (London, 1892), pp. 2ff.
79. See ch. II, "The Great Towns," *ibid.*, pp. 23-74.
80. *Ibid*, p. 24. Engels seemingly referred to Hobbes' *bellum omnium contra omnes.*
81. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
87. *Ibid.*
88. Cf. Statutes at Large 73, 985 (990), 1833, c 103, 3 & 4 Gulielmi IV, Sec. xx, "After the expiration of Six months from the passing of this Act every Child herein before restricted to the performance of Forty-eight Hours of Labor in any One week shall, so long as such Child shall be within the said restricted Age between 11 & 18 attend some school." The section mentions deductions from the child's wage, when it becomes due, of one penny in every shilling, for the child's schooling in case he is an orphan.
89. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, p. 113. Engels amplified this: "The English workingman who can scarcely read and still less write, nevertheless knows very well where his own interest and that of the nation lies." *Ibid.*
90. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
91. *Capital*, p. 427, n. 1. Marx quoted an employer in A. Redgrave, *Reports of Inspectors of Factories* for Oct. 31, 1857: "As far as I can see, the greater amount of education which a part of the working class has enjoyed for some years is an evil. It is dangerous, because it makes them independent."
92. *Condition of the Working Class in 1844*, p. 109f.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

96. Quoted *ibid*, p. 112, Children's Employment Commission's Report.
97. *Ibid.*
98. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
99. *Ibid.*
100. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
101. *Ibid.*
102. *Ibid.*, p 129.
103. *Ibid.*
104. *Ibid.*, p. 148.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 149. Engels was of the opinion that a better education for the employers was most necessary in the interests of the working class. Better education would improve the morale of the employers. Engels thus characterized conditions at the beginning of manufacturing industry. "It is besides, a matter of course that factory servitude like any other, and to an even higher degree, confers the *jus primee noctis* upon the master."
106. *Ibid.*, p. 238.
107. *Ibid.*
108. *Ibid.*, p. 239.
109. *Ibid.*, p. 240. In its further development, Marxism as a whole changed its opinion. It must not be forgotten that it was Marx who took up first the serious aspects of theorizing. The *Manifesto*, written in 1848, three years after *The Condition of the Working Class in 1844*, was the joint production of Marx and Engels, yet Engels admitted that the fundamental proposition which formed its nucleus belonged to Marx *(Manifesto, p. 6.)*

 The importance of the *Manifesto* as a turning point in Marxian theorizing on education has been cited. In the introduction to the *Manifesto* Engels first justified the calling of their *Manifesto* "communist" and then drew for the first time the distinction between communists and socialists. *(Manifesto*, p. 5.)
110. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, p. 71f.
111. *Capital*, p. 424.
112. *Ibid.* Peel's Act of 1802 was really a new verision of the Poor

Law. The first real Factory Bill was drawn up by Owen and Peel in 1815. A useless shadow of this bill was passed by Parliament in 1819. As there were to be no inspectors, the Act was ignored by employers and parents. Gradual improvements took place when inspectors were appointed to enforce the Act.

113. Statutes at Large: 73, 989 (990) 1833, c 103, 3 & 4 Will. IV, Sec. XX; 74, (1-2) 1834, c 1, 4 & 5 Will. IV, Sec. II; 84, (215-217) 1844, c 37 7 & 8 Vic. Sec. I, II, III, IV; 84, 82 (93-95), 1844, c 15, 7 & 8 Vic. Sec. XX, IX, XXX, XXXVIII, XXXIX. Only those clauses are given here having direct relation to the discussion above.

114. Children may be employed at eight years of age. No child shall be employed in any factory more than six hours and thirty minutes in any one day unless time in such factory begin at one o'clock, in which case children beginning to work in the morning may work for seven hours in one day. Statutes at Large, 84, 82 (91), 1844, Sec. XXIX and XXX. . . .

115. *Capital,* pp. 424-427, 521-524, 536-539. That industry conflicted with education of children was also an acknowledged fact at the beginning of the nineteenth century in the United States. Legislation for the education of children engaged in Factory work dates back to 1813 in the State of Connecticut. "This impulse was strengthened by the increase in the humanitarian feeling which had taken effect in the formation of numerous committees, often inspired by Fourier or Owen, or by the advanced thinkers of Europe." This resulted in continuous legislation, but "the experience of England had shown what the Americans of this period had still to realize, that administration was nine-tenths of the law in factory acts." Henry W. Farman, *Chapters in the History of Social Legislation in the United States to 1800,* ed. Clive Day, (Washington 1938), pp. 256, 260. For more details on Child education under Factory conditions of the Nineteenth century in the United States, see Elizabeth Lewis Otey, *The Beginning of Child Labor Legislation,* (Washington, 1910).

116. The following is a verbatim copy of a school-certificate: "This is to certify that 1838 thomas Cordingley as attend martha insep school tow hours per day January 6." Robert Baker to H. J. Saunders, *Reports of Inspectors of Factories,* Jan. 1, 1939, quoted in M. Ludlow and J. Lloyd, *Progress of the Working Class* (London, 1867), p. 15.
117. Sir John Kincaid, in *Reports of Inspectors of Factories* for Oct. 31, 1858, pp. 31-32. "The first school we visited was kept by a Mrs. Ann Killin. Upon asking her to spell her name, she straightway made a mistake, by beginning with the letter C, but correcting herself immediately, she said her name began with a K. On looking at her signature, however, in the school certificate books I noticed that she spelt it various ways, while her handwriting left no doubt as to her unfitness to teach. She herself acknowledged that she could not keep the register." Quoted in *Capital,* p. 425f.
118. Leonard Horner, in *Reports of Inspectors of Factories,* June 30, 1857: "Children obtained certificates of school attendance without having received instruction of any value.... I have seen rows of children doing absolutely nothing. . . ." *Ibid.,* p. 426.
119. *Ibid.,* p. 521.
120. *Reports of Inspectors of Factories,* Oct. 31, 1863: "Factory education is compulsory, and it is a condition of labor." *Ibid.,* p. 521.
121. *Ibid.,* p. 522. For this Marx found support in his study of the life work of Robert Owen.
122. *Iibid.,* p. 521. Marx seemingly referred here to the Factory Act passed before *Das Kapital* (1867) was written, namely the Factory Act of 1847. The next Factory Act was passed in 1874, seven years after *Das Kapital* was written. On the Act of 1847 Marx said this. "According to the English Factory Act parents cannot send children under fourteen yers of age to work in 'controlled' factories, unless at the same time allowing them to receive elementary education. The factory owner is responsible for seeing that the law shall be enforced."

Following are the merits of the educational clause of the

first Factory Act as indicated by the Secretary of the British Social Science Association, when he pleaded for "National Education," in 1870. "That any system of compulsory education should be on the principle of the half-time system, of the first Factory Act, in which three hours daily attendance in a good school was provided as a security against a child being overworked, by working the same stages as an adult, as well as a security against being so worked as to be excluded from the benefits of a common education." *The Penny Bee-hive,* London, May 28, 1870, No 450, p. 231. This periodical, established in 1861, was published as *The Bee-hive, a General Family Newspaper The Recognized Organ of Industrial Interests,* and it changed later to *The Penny Bee-hive, The People's Paper, The Organ of Trades, Friendly, and Co-operative Societies, Workingman's Clubs and other associations of the working classes.* The educational platform of the *Penny Bee-hive* was announced Jan. 8, 1870 (No. 430) aiming to "advocate a sound and liberal system of national education—nonsectarian, free, compulsory—that workingmen may be relieved from the degradation of ignorance."

123. *Capital,* p. 521. This "educational combination" may indeed have had its merits yet it is hard to believe that a child coming to school after a half-day's hard labor at a factory could have competed with a regular day scholar. The degree of success of this combination may be partially explained by the great boredom, hard discipline and lack of play which were so characteristic of the schools of that day. Work at the factory, then, presented relaxation and diversion from monotonous school work. On the other hand, only the most capable and strongest children were able to survive for a considerable time the ordeal of work at the factory or mills and study in a backward school.
124. *Capital,* p. 521.
125. For the present status and further development of this concept follow the discussion in the various chapters of this book.
126. The first Congress of the International Brotherhood of

Workers, known as the First International, took place in Geneva, Sept. 3-8, 1866.

127. Marx, "Instrukzii delegatam Vremennavo Tzentralnavo Sovieta po otdielnym voprosam," *Works* (IMEL, Moscow, 1936), vol. 13, part 1, p. 198f.
128. *Ibid.*, p. 198.
129. This division of young labor into three age-groups had tremendous influence later in marking off the steps in the Soviet educational ladder. See figure, p. 186, *infra.*
130. Marx, "Instrukzii delegatam," *Works,* p. 199.

Chapter Four

131. Engels, "Zwei Reden in Elberfeld," *Gesamtausgabe,* vol. 4. part 1, pp. 380ff.
132. *Ibid.*, p. 380. The other measures proposed by Engels were economic, namely, the reorganization of the poor laws (Armenwesens) and progressive capital taxation.
133. *Ibid.*
134. *Ibid.*
135. Engels reemphasized his firm belief that society would benefit from education. "Dass die Gesellschaft mehr Vorteil von gebildeten als von unwissenden, rohen Mitgliiedern hat, liegt auf der Hand." *Ibid.*
136. "Zwei Reden in Elberfeld," *Gesamtausgabe,* vol. 4, Part 1, p. 380. This seems to be in contradiction with Marxian educational views expressed before, namely that education is an expression of prevailing social relations which in turn are a product of the prevailing modes of production. In accordance with this view, economic reforms should precede the educational. On the other hand, with the knowledge of the facts and the objective conditions for communism all set, the subjective factor becomes the leading issue. Education, then, planned and executed by the human will, may become a measure of first importance toward the goal of practical communism. See p. 15f *supra.*
137. "Grundsätze des Kommunismus," *Gesamtausgabe,* vol. 6,

part 1, p. 515. "Erziehung sämtlicher Kinder, von dem Augenblicke an, wo sie der erstein mütterlichen Pflege entbehren können, in Nationalanstalten und auf Nationalkosten. Erziehung und Fabrikation zusammen."

138. *Ibid*, p. 515.

139. "Zwei Reden in Elberfeld," *Gesamtausgabe,* vol. 4, part 1, p. 380.

140. *Conditions of the Working Class,* pp. 110ff.

141. "Forderungen der kommunistischen Partei in Deutschland," *Gesamtausgabe,* vol. 7, part 1. The proclamation is signed by members of the Committee: Karl Marx, Karl Schlapper, H. Bauer, F. Engels, J. Moll, W. Wolff. It was printed in Paris, March 30, 1848.

142. *Ibid.,* p. 4 (article 17).

143. *Manifesto,* p. 31.

144. *Capital,* p. 527.

145. Marx, "Instruktzii delegatam," *Works,* v. 13, part 1, p. 199. It seems, therefore, that the instructions in dealing with the simplest instruments of production would be given to children of an age level capable of manipulating them. In his main work Marx attempted to show that modern industry and science have sufficiently demonstrated that there are a limited number of basic elements and forms of motion in every productive activity. "The principle it [the large scale industry] pursues, in accordance with which each process is resolved into its constituent elements, regardless of any relation to the manipulations of a human artificer, has created the modern science of technology. . . . Technology likewise discovered the few basic forms of motion, which, despite the diversity of the implements used, are necessarily assumed by every productive activity of the human body; just as the science of mechanics discovers in the utmost complications of machinery, nothing more than the perpetual repetition of the simple mechanical powers." *Capital,* p. 525. Hence, the pedagogical reason for the method of acquainting pupils with the simplest instruments of production representing the basic "simple mechanical powers."

146. *The Civil War in France, Address of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association.* The citations to follow are from the edition of Charles H. Kerr and Co. (Chicago, n.d.), translated from the German by E. Belfort Bas. An earlier version of this address has recently been published, *Arkhiv Marksa i Engelsa,* III (VIII), Moscow, 1934).

147. *The Civil War in France, passim.* "The Communal Constitution would have restored to the social body all the forces hitherto absorbed by the State parasite feeding upon and clogging the free movement of society." (p. 47).

"It was essentially a working-class government, the produce of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economical emancipation of labor." (p. 48). Cf. Engels' introduction, pp. 3-11.

Lenin, living at a later date, attached the same importance to the Commune as Marx. But from his several outlines for a paper in preparation on the subject of the Paris Commune, one gathers that he formed a more comprehensive view on the Commune's accomplishments. The following were the Communal reforms, according to Lenin, in the realm of political freedom: the abolition of the regular army and of bureaucratism; separation of church from state; equal rights for foreigners; self-government of the Communes throughout France. In the economic realm the following reforms of the Commune found favor with Lenin: the prohibition of night work, moratorium on debts; the transfer of abandoned factories to the workers; pensions to widows. The factors in favor of the Commune were: the abolition of subsidies to the Church and free education for the people. Factors which have hastened the fall of the Commune were: lack of class-consciousness; the influence of *Proudhonism* and *Blanquism;* the hesitation to appropriate the Bank of France; the lack of a planned offensive against Versailles in place of the general defensive policy of the Commune. *Leninski sbornik,* (Partizdat, Moscow, 1934), XXVI, 49-58.

148. *Ibid.,* p. 44. The following is from the First Variant of the same work as given by V. V. Adoratsky: "There was of course no time to reorganize public instruction (education); but by removing the religious and clerical element from it, the Commune has taken the initiative in the mental emancipation of the people. It has appointed a Commission for the organization de l'enseignement primary (elementary) and professional (28 April). It has ordered that all tools of instruction, like books, maps, paper, etc., be given gratuitously by schoolmasters who receive them in their turn from the respective mairies to which they belong. No schoolmaster is allowed on any pretext to ask payment from his pupils for these instruments of instruction (28 April)." *Arkhiv Marksa i Engelsa,* III (VII), p. 303f. In relation to higher education, Marx stated: "As the Professors of the École de Medicine have run away, the Commune appointed a Commission for the foundation of *free* universities no longer State parasites." *Ibid.,* p. 301. Italics Marx's.

149. The "working class was openly acknowledged as the only class capable of social initiative, even by the great bulk of the Paris middle-class shopkeepers, tradesmen, merchants, the wealthy capitalist alone excepted." *The Civil War in France,* p. 51.

150. *Ibid.* See p. 49, *supra,* on the Education Act of the Ministry of d'Hautpoul; the bill to hand over education to the clergy was introduced January 14, 1850, was passed by the Assembly March 15, and approved by Bonaparte March 17.

151. The Commune had thus characterized the education preceding the revolution of 1871: "In the course of eighty years, i.e. from the moment of the French Revolution, education, this social problem which contains in itself the solution of all other problems, has been moving in an immoral circle of ceaseless misapprehension." *Le Vengeur,* Paris, April 8, 1871, quoted in *Pedagogicheskoye obrazovaniye* (Narkompros, Moscow, 1937), p. 12.

Education in the Commune was definitely influenced by Marxism. Although there is no documentary proof, as yet, that the educational practice in the Commune was adopted

directly from Marx, it seems fair to assume that some leaders of the Commune were well acquainted with Marxism and its educational principles. Furthermore, like Marx, Eduard Vaillant, Commissar for Education in the Commune, was a leader of the International Working Men's Association. This should have given Vaillant an opportunity for intimate acquaintance with Marx's ideas in general and in education in particular.

For more information on Vaillant, his subsequent activities and relation to Marx, see Harold Weinstein, *Jean Jaurès, A Study of Patriotism in the French Socialist Movement,* (Columbia University Press, 1936), p. 77f.

According to Medynski, Marxism exercised a great influence on the education of the Commune, especially on the "social-political education in the schools, in the *erziehung* of revolutionary activity among children. During the period of the defense of Paris on the barricades against the counter-revolutionary armies of the Versailles government, the children in the schools under the guidance of teachers were sewing sacks, which, when filled with earth, were used for the construction of barricades. In this way, children took active part in the revolutionary struggle. . . . The schools' lessons in ethics were educating children in the principles of revolutionary struggle with the exploiters." E. M. Medynski, *Istoriya pedagogiki* (Moscow 1938), p. 289.

The press under the Paris Commune supported a strong educational policy of indoctrination. Some of the newspapers adopted educational slogans. For instance, *L'ami du peuple* had the following battle-cry: "L'ignorance, c'est l'esclavage L'instruction, c'est la liberté." J. Lemonnyer, *Les journeaux de Paris pendant La Commune. Revue bibliographique complete de la presse parisienne du 19 Mars au 27 Mai,* Paris [1871], p. 9.

152 *Les Murailles Politiques Francaises, II, la Commune Paris-Versailles-La Provence - 18 Mars - 27 Mai, 1871.* L. Le Chevalier, Editeur (Paris, 1874), 325 In the same announcement the Tenth Arrondissement drew attention to the following facts the engagement of secular teachers, in place

of the clerical; the free admission of pupils from 6 to 15 years of age; free public lectures by the director of the school on "rational ethics and political rights."

From another source one learns that the teachers were instructed to "practice only the scientific based on experiment method, that method which comes from the observation of facts. . . . The pupils should not use books or implements which in any instance contradict the scientific method or the principle of solidarity." Quoted in E. N. Medyns *Istoriya Pedagogiki,* p. 289.

153. "Declaration au peuple Français," *Bulletin de lois de Commune de Paris,* ed. A. Lagroix, *et al* (Paris, 1871), p. 62.
154. *Ibid.,* p. 63.
155. Document in the *Archives de la Seine.* Quoted in E. S. Mason, *The Paris Commune* (New York, 1930), p. 270.
156. *Archives de la Seine.* Quoted in Mason, *The Paris Commune,* p. 270.
157. *Les Murailles Politiques Françaises,* II, 52.
158. *Ibid.,* II, 84-85.
159. *Ibid.,* II, 212. In addition, this Federation demanded: "Freedom of conscience, without a cult subsidized by the State"; "elimination of permanent armies and obligatory universal military education."
160. *Ibid.,* II, 335.
161. *Journal Officiel de la République Française,* April 23, 1871, No. 113. The italics are those of the *Journal Official.* The Commune attempted by all means to improve the economic status of its new secular teachers. The annual wage of teachers was raised from the pre-communal salary of 750-950 francs to a minimum of 2,000 francs per annum. Similarly assistants to teachers were raised from 400-600 francs to 1,500 francs. The salaries of women teachers were equalized with those of men teachers. "Thus the Commune emphasized the idea of equality of men and women." E. N. Medynski, *Istoriya Pedagogiki,* p. 289f.
162. *Les Murailles Politiques Françaises,* II, 364 signed by the *Comitè Democratique.*
163. *Journal Officiel,* May 19, 1871, no. 139.

164. *Les Murailles Politiques Françaises,* II, 370-371.
165. *Ibid.,* II, 371. For the same reason, when the candidate in the Communal election of the Sixth Arrondisement appealed for social reforms, he pointed out as an example the United States, where in some states large amounts of money were allotted for education. "A good government is determined by its solicitude for the moral and intellectual interests of the population." *Ibid.,* II, 289.
166. That the work of the philotechnical societies was given prominence by the Commune is clear from the following announcement: *"Phyloteonic Association: Gratuitous instruction of Adults.* Mr. Charles Lucas, architect, member of the Central Society of Architects, will give a lecture on the Monuments of Paris, Sunday, April 2, 1871, at one o'clock sharp, in the Sorbonne Theatre at Gerson Street, 1. Subject of the lecture: The City." *Journal Officiel,* April 1, 1871, no. 91.
167. *Journal Officiel,* April 15, 1871, No. 105.
168. *Ibid.,* May 20, 1871, No. 140.
169. *Ibid.,* May 13, 1871, No. 133. The decree is signed by a member of the Commune and Commissar of Education, Eduard Vaillant. The italics in the first paragraph of the above quotation are those of the *Journal Officiel.* The italics in the last paragraph are inserted.
170. *Ibid.,* May 7, 1871, No. 127.
171. *Ibid.,* May 18, 1871, No. 138. The word *integrale* is italicized in the *Journal Officiel.* Other Italics inserted.

As indicated *supra* the conception of polytechnic education, as to the exact meaning attached to it by Marx, later underwent several changes. In 1938, for instance, the Soviet professor Medynski gave the description of polytechnism under the Commune three short paragraphs in the last of which he directed the following justifiable criticism at the Commune's polytechnic education. "One must note that the problem of combination of education with productive labor was not understood by some leaders of the Commune in a fully correct manner, i.e. [they have interpreted it] in the sense of combination of general and professional educa-

tion even for children of an early age. They wrote in the newspapers of that period, that one must organize education in such manner, that children receiving general education should be enabled to earn their bread at an early age." *Istoriya Pedagogiki*, p. 289.

It is conceivable that this interpretation of polytechnism by the Commune was adopted from Marx's instructions to the delegates to the First International in 1866 (*Supra* p. 53). One will recall that in group I minors ages 9 to 12 were included and permitted to work two hours per day. This, with Marx's stress on early productivity of children "in an intelligent social order," resulted in some erroneous interpretations of polytechnism by his followers. This error was committed, as shown later, even by some Soviet educators. It is legitimate to assume that a social order could be intelligent but not communistic, intelligent but not just. The instructions given by Marx to the delegates of the First International embodied demands under the prevailing social orders but not under Communism or at a stage leading to it. In this order specialization and training for capacity to gain a livelihood at an early age were contradictory to the whole socio-educational conception of polytechniism.

Chapter Five

172. *The Conditions of the Working Class*, pp. 238-240 and *supra* p. 34f
173. This was the fusion of the "Social Democratic Workers' Party of Germany" (Eisenachists) led by Liebknecht and Bebel, and the Lasallean party, "The All-German Workers' League." The quotations to follow are from Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (International Publishers, New York, [1933]), the only edition authorized by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, Moscow.
174. In his letter to W. Bracke, of May 5, 1875, which accompanied the *Critique*, Marx said: "It has given me no plea-

sure in any way to write such a lengthy rebuke. . . Finally the programme in itself is valueless quite part from its canonization of the credo of the Lasalleans." *Ibid.*, pp. 62-64. In connection with this, it is interesting to note what change the educational clause of the Gotha Programme underwent after Marx's criticism. Marx's letter to Bracke which accompanied the manuscript of the *Critique* was dated May 5, 1875. Following is the educational clause of the Programme as adopted by the joint congress of the Eisenachists and Lassalleans at Gotha, twenty days later, on May 25, 1875: "Universal, equal education of the people by the State. Universal obligation to attend school. Free instruction in every educational institution. . . . *Ibid.*, p. 118. From the criticism *supra* and *infra* it seems certain that this new version of the clause would have not satisfied Marx, and his criticism would stay intact. Indeed, this contention is corroborated by Engels' letters following the congress at Gotha. Among other things, Engels said, the programme consisted "of a series of would-be Communist sentences, borrowed for the most part from the *Manifesto* but so re-edited that when considered closely, each and all of them make hair-raising nonsense. If these things were not understood, then they should have been copied literally by those who admittedly understood the matter." Engels' letter to W. Bracke of Oct. 11, 1875, *Ibid.*, p. 65. A similar criticism of the Gotha programme, but of more force and eloquence, Engels directed in his letter to Bebel of October 12, 1875. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-70.

175. "The political demands comprise nothing beyond the old familiar democratic litany: universal suffrage, direction, legislation. . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 45.
176. *Ibid.*, pp. 43ff.
177. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
178. *Ibid.*
179. See pp. 19ff., *supra.*
180 See p. 28f, *supra.*
181. *Critique of the Gotha Programme,* p. 47. Marx's italics.
182. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

183. *Ibid.*
184. *Ibid.*
185. *Ibid.*
186. *Ibid.*
187. *Capital,* p. 521.
188. *Critique of the Gotha Programme,* p. 48.
189. *Ibid.,* p. 44.
190. "It is possible to talk of the "contemporary form of State in contrast to the future in which its present root, bourgeois society, will be destroyed. . . . Between capitalist and communist society lies a period of revolutionary transformation from one to the other. There corresponds also to this a political transition period during which the State can be nothing else than the *revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.*" Ibid., p. 44f. Italics are Marx's.
191. See pp. 52ff. and n. 126, *supra.* This "International" was transferred to the U.S.A. where it finally dissolved in Philadelphia in 1876. For a brief account on Marx's leadership in the "First International," see John Spargo, *Karl Marx, His Life and His Work* (New York, 1910), Ch. XI.
192. A good exposition on the differences between the Marxian factions is given in Francis W. Coker, *Recent Political Thought* (New York, 1934), pp. 70-82, 107-118.
193. Eduard Bernstein, Die Voranssetzungen des Sozialismus und die aufgabe der Sozialdemokratic (Stuttgart-Berlin, 1921), p. 65.
194. *Ibid.*
195. *Ibid.,* p. 178.
196. *Ibid.,* p. 41.
197. *Was die Sozialdemokrati will* [n.p., 1919], p. 16.
198. See chapters on Germany in Isaac L. Kandel, *Comparative Education* (New York, 1933). On the failure of the *Einheitsschule,* Kandel said: "Any approximation to the idea of the *Einheitsschule,* as an organization has been postponed indefinitely. The Thuringian experiment . . . was abandoned with the change in political supremacy from the Left to the Right Wing in 1924." p. 153f.
199. *Was die Sozialdemokratie will,* p. 16

200. *Ibid.*
201. Jean Jaurès, *Studies in Socialism,* trans. Mildred Minturn (London, 1908), p. 12.
202. *Ibid.,* p. 37.
203. *Ibid.,* p. 13.
204. *Ibid.,* p. 38.
205. *Ibid.*
206. *Ibid.,* p. 168.
207. There are many other shades of socialism. The social and educational programme of those is not different from that of other contemporary liberal reformers. Many of these reformers undoubtedly influenced initially by Marxism still call themselves socialists and attempt by all means to preserve a revolutionary phraseology and slogans. Cf. M. Beer, *A History of British Socialism* (New York, 1921), II, 227-30.
208. M. H. Hyndman, *England for All, The Text-Book of Democracy* (London, 1881). The publication of this book, "dedicated to the democratic and working men's clubs of Great-Britain and Ireland," led to a breach between Hyndman and Marx. According to Hyndman, Engels persuaded Marx that he, Hyndman, was set to use the workers' organization to his own advantage and that he plagiarized some of Marx's ideas. See M. H. Hyndman, *The Record of An Adventurous Life* (New York, 1911), p. 230.
209. *England for All,* p. 84.
210. *Ibid.,* p. 91.
211. Hyndman, *The Record of an Adventurous Life,* p. 98.

Chapter Six

212. V. I. Lenin, *Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (London, 1935), *passim.*
213. Lenin attempted to show Kautsky's rupture with Marxism in 1915. See, for instance, "Istinniye Internationalisty: Kautsky, Akselrod, Martov," *Works,* XVIII, 306-310; "Krakh II internazionala," *Ibid.,* pp. 245-266. It is interest-

ing to note that various shades of bolshevik opinion accused Kautsky of treachery to Marxism and its ideals. Trotzky, for instance, maintained that "the Russian revolution finally slew Kautsky. By all his previous development, scholarship in theory of passivity, capitulation and fear in the face of revolutionary action he was placed in a hostile attitude towards the November victory of the proletariat." Leon Trotzky, *Dictatorship vs. Democracy*, (New York, *c.* 1920), p. 184.

214. Karl Kautsky, *Thomas More and His Utopia,* trans. H. J. Stenning (New York, n.d.).
216. See *The Economic Doctrines of Karl Marx,* trans. H. J. Stenning (London, 1925).
217. See section "The Machine as 'Educator' of the Worker," *Ibid.,* p. 159f.
218. See p. 52f., *supra.*
219. *The Economic Doctrines of Karl Marx,* p. 177.
220. *The Social Revolution* (Chicago, 1910), p. 19.
221. *Ibid.,* p. 171.
222. *Georgia, A Social Democratic Peasant Republic* (International Bookshops, London *c.* 1922), p. 65.
223. *Ibid.,* p. 67.
224. Karl Kautsky, *The Labor Revolution,* trans. H. J. Stenning (New York, n.d.).
225. 225. *Ibid.,* p. 180.
226. *Ibid.,* p. 221.
227. Report of the London "Bee-hive," quoted in Kautsky's *The Labor Revolution,* p. 221f. On the "Bee-hive" see n. 122.
228. Karl Kautsky, *Bolshevism at a Deadlock,* trans. B. Pritchard (New York, 1931).
229. *Ibid.,* p. 16 and *passim.*
230. Karl Kautsky, *Communism and Socialism,* trans. Joseph Shaples (New York, 1932), p. 37.
231. For full acount of Plekhanov's life and works, see *Literaturnaya entziklopediya* (Moscow, 1934), VIII, pp. 693-730.
232. G. V. Plekhanov, *Proyekt programmi russkikh sotzial demokratov, 1888.* (GIZ. Moscow-Petrograd, 1923), II, 403. "Gen-

eral, secular, free, and compulsory education The State should supply the poor children with food, clothing, and school implements." See his *Predislovıye k broshurie, "tchto khotıat sotzıal demokraty"* (Gız. Moscow, 1923), XVI, 381, on Marx's and Engels' personal influence on the socialist programme of which the above educational demand is a part.

233. *Ibid.*, II, 397. Cf. Marx's views on education in the bourgeois order and its relation to the worker's earning capacity, p 39, *supra*. See Lenın's opinion on educatıon and its importance for the working class in the bourgeois order, p. 116, *ınfra*.

234. Plekhanov, *Works,* XIX, 358.

235. According to Stalin, Plekhanov was definitely opposed to Lenin's revolutionary theorizing and activity in 1917 *Rıech Stalına na prıëmie v Kremlıe rabotnıkov vysshei shkoly,* 17 Maıa 1938. (Ogiz, 1938). In connection with this, it is interesting to note that Lenin in 1921 advised the young party membership "that one cannot become a mature *real* communist without a study, exactly a *study* of everything written by Plekhanov on philosophy, for it is the best of all written in the international Marxian literature." Lenin recommended the publication of Plekhanov's philosophic works in separate volumes with detailed indices "for these must be included in the series of compulsory texts on communism." He demanded that a knowledge of Plekhanov's philosophy "should be requested of the [Soviet] professors of philosophy." Lenin, "Yesshë raz o profsoyuzahk," (*Sochıneniya* 2nd ed., Institut Lenina pri C.K.V.K.P. (b), Moscow 1926-1932), hereafter cited as *Works.* The italics in the quotation are Lenin's.

Chapter Seven

236. See p. 31f., *supra.*

237. For relationship between the "foundation" and the "superstructures," see p. 25, *supra;* on the importance of education

for the improvement of morals, see p. 42f., *supra;* education of the revolutionary vanguard, pp. 138f., *infra.*

238. See p. 30f., *supra.*
239. See pp. 33ff., *supra.*
240. Pp. 34ff., *supra.*
241. Franz Mehring, *Die Deutsche Sozialdemokratie, ihre Geschichte und ihre Lehre* (Bremen, 1879), p. 316. Mehring pointed out the difficulties presenting themselves when one undertakes to describe the future classless society. Incidentally, he said: "when we describe our future State, the bourgeois signify it as pure Utopia; if we don't, they say that we do not know ourselves as to what we desire. *Ibid.,* p. 313.
242. August Bebel, *Woman and Socialism,* trans. Stern (New York, 1910), p. 440. Italics are Bebel's.
243. Ch. XXV, "The Socialist System of Education," *ibid.,* pp. 440-451.
244. *Ibid.,* p. 443.
245. P. 52f., *supra.*
246. *Woman and Socialism,* p. 443.
247. *Ibid.,* p. 448.
248. *Ibid.,* p. 443f.
259. *Ibid.,* p. 444.
250. *Ibid.,* p. 448.
251. *Ibid.,* p. 449.
252. See p. 35f., *supra.*
253. *Woman and Socialism,* p. 451f.; cf. Marx, "Die Deutsche Idcologie," *Gesamtausgabe,* vol. 5, part 1, p. 373, also 29f., *supra.*

Chapter Eight

254. V. I. Lenin, *Sochinieniya* (2nd ed., institut Lenina pri C.K.C.K.P. (b), Moscow, 1926-1932), hereafter cited as *Works;* see especially XIII, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* (English translation, New York, 1927).
255. Nadezhda K. Krupskaya, *Memories of Lenin* (London, 1930),

p. 33. See also Lenin, "Pamiyati Gertzena," *Works,* XV, p. 464f. "Gertzen conceived that Hegelianism represents the algebra of the revolution." See also Lenin, "Tchto takoye druz'ya naroda," *Works,* I, 80-89.

256. N. Bukharin also accepted Marxian dialectics as important for revolutionary theory: "History moves in contradictions. The skeleton of historic existence, the economic structure of society also develops in contradictions. . . . The dynamic force of life creates the new over and over again—such is the law inherent in reality. Hegel's dialectic which Marx placed on its feet is valuable for this very reason, that it grasps the dialectics of life, that it fearlessly analyzes the present without being disturbed by the fact that every existence hides within itself the germ of its own destruction." *Imperialism and World Economy* (New York, 1929), p. 168.

257. Lenin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism,* p. 34. "Such is the view of materialism, that matter, acting on our sense organs, produces sensation. Sensation depends upon the brain, nerves, retina, etc., upon matter organized in a certain way. The existence of matter does not depend upon sensation. Matter is of primary nature. Sensation, thought, consciousness, are the highest products of matter organized in a certain way." See also V. I. Lenin, *The Teachings of Karl Marx* (London, 1931), p. 12f.

258. Lenin, *The Revolution of 1917,* pp. 332ff.; *The Imperialist War,* pp. 31f; *The Iskra Period,* pp. 19, 41 (English translations; New York, 1929-30); "Tchto takoye druzya naroda," *Works,* I, pp. 80-97; N. Krupskaya, *Budem utchit'seo rabotat'u Lenina* (Imel, Moscow, 1933), "Lenin was in a habit of consulting with Marx," p. 21.

259. "Razvitiye capitalizma v Rossii," *Works,* III, 5-477.

260. "Agrarıyny vopros i kritiki Marksa," *Works,* IV, 185ff.

261. "Imperialism" Lenin defined as the "epoch of finance capital and monopolies, which everywhere carry ambitions for domination, but not for freedom. As a result of these tendencies there is, in this domain, a reaction on the whole front of all political orders and an extreme intensification of contradictions." "Imperialism kak vysshaya stadiya kapi-

talizma," *Works,* XIX, 169. Lenin's contribution consisted in his analysis of imperialism. The dialectical course of recent history he illustrated, in 1916, by dates: 1789-1871 (from the French Revolution up to the Paris Commune of 1871), the rise and victory of the bourgeoisie; 1871-1914, the domination and decline of the bourgeoisie, ascendance of imperialism, and the accumulation of communist forces; 1914, epoch of imperialist agony. *The Imperialist War,* pp. 126ff. Similarly, the recent history of education is subdivided by Soviet educators into the following periods: First period, from the French bourgeois revolution of 1789 up to the Paris Commune of 1871; second period from 1871 to 1918, the October Revolution; third period from 1918 up to the present. *Istoriya Pedagogiki,* pp. 363-64.

262. *The Imperialist War,* p. 138. On this, Bukharian said: "Marxism teaches us that the historic process, and consequently every link in the chain of historic events is a 'necessary' entity." *Imperialism and World Economy,* p. 131.

263. *The Imperialist War,* p. 403. See n. 3.

264. *The State and Revolution* (London, 1933), p. 99. Lenin's italics. In a similar manner but more fully the withering away of the proletarian State is described by Engels. "*The proletarian seizes political power and turns the means of production into state property.* But in doing this, it abolishes itself as proletariat, abolishes all class antagonisms, abolishes also the State as State. . . . The first act by virtue of which the State really constitutes itself the representative of the whole of society—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—this is, at the same time, its last independent act as a State. *State interference in social relations becomes, in one domain after another superfluous,* and then withers away by itself; the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of the processes of production. The State is not "*abolished.*" It *withers* away. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific,* p. 127-129. Engel's italics.

265. *Ibid.,* p. 77.

266. "Action is the soul of Marxian theory, but it only takes ade-

quate body in the practice of Lenin." D. C. Mirsky, *Lenin* (Boston, 1931), p. 191.

267. Joseph Stalin, *Leninism,* trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (London, 1928), pp. 79f.

268. Zinoviefi defined Leninism as "Marxism of the epoch of imperialist wars and of the world revolution which took its direct rise in a country where the peasantry predominates." "Bolshevism ili Trotzkyism?" *Pravda,* Nov. 30, 1924.

269. L. Trotzky, *Voprosy kulturnoi raboty* (Gosizdat, Moscow, 1924), p. 90. Herein Trotzky defined culture: "Culture is the sum total of knowledge and skill—the whole knowledge and skill accumulated by mankind in its whole preceding history," p. 89.

270. "We are convinced that Marx, though he died fifty years ago, is our most vital contemporary, actively participating in our present class struggle." A. M. Deborin, *Marxism and Modern Thought,* trans. F. Fox (New York, 1935), p. 91.

271. Trotzky defined the Soviet Union as "State-organized Leninism," *Voprosy kulturnoi raboty,* p. 119.

272. See definition of culture in footnote 269.

273. Lenin, "K kharakteristike economicheskavo romantizma," *Works,* II, 85f.

274. Jean Charles Leonard de Sismonde (1773-1842). *Les nouveaux principes d'économie politique au De la richesse dans ses rapports avec la population* (1827). (See Lenin, *Works,* II, 85 and *passim*). Sismonde disagreed with the classicist Adam Smith on economic *laissez faire, laissez passer,* and called the classical economics *chrematistique* (money making science). To alleviate the economic evils of his times he proposed two measures which he later renounced: the prohibition of marriage to those lacking sufficient means to bring up a family and the charging of the employer to make up the "necessary wage" of the worker. In his view, a conciliation between individual and social interests was impossible and he therefore advocated government intervention. His acceptance of labor as the source of value and advocacy of social reforms have inspired socialistic economic thought and research.

275. Lenin, "K kharakteristike economicheskavo romantizma," *Works,* II, 85f.
276. *Ibid*, p. 86.
277. Lenin, "Rosvitiye kapitalizma v Rossii," *Works,* III, 449f.
278. Lenin, "Agrarny vopros i kritiki Marksa," *Works,* IV, 218.
279. *Ibid.,* p. 218.
280. Lenin, "Economicheskoye sodiershaniye narodnichestva," *Works,* I, 302f.
281. Lenin, "Tchto takoye druz'ya naroda," *Works,* I, 109.
282. *Ibid.,* p. 144f.
283. *Ibid*, p. 145.
284. *Ibid.*
285. The "narodniki" (Populists) taught that Russia's capitalist development was of a transitory nature. Russia had its own way of economic development and was destined to "obmirstchania," i.e. Russia would leave the capitalist track and solve its economic problems in the unique Russian way. The development of the well known Russian "mir" or village commune was taken by the "narodniki" as a starting point for their theory.
286. S. N. Yujakov, 1847-1910, *Prosvietitel'neya Utopia: Plan vsenarodnavo obiyazatel'navo sredniavo obrazovaniya* (1895) and *Voprosy prosviesheniya* (1897), cited by Lenin (see following two footnotes).
287. Lenin, "Gymnazicheskiya khoziaistva i ispravitel'niya gymnazii," *Works,* I, 401-06.
288. Lenin, "Perly narodnicheskavo prozhekterstva," *Works,* II, 280-96.
289. *Ibid.,* p. 292.
290. Lenin, "Proyekt rietchi po agrarnomu voprosu vo vtoroi gos. dumie," *Works,* XI, 119.
291. Lenin, "Agrarnaya programma sotzial-democratov v pervoi russkoi revolutzii," *Works,* XI, 443.
292. *Ibid.,* p. 444.
293. Lenin, "II Kongress Kommunistischeskavo Internazionala, 1920," *Works,* XXV, 343.
294. For similar reasons, and others, the socialist faction in the third Russian Duma was instructed by the Russian Socialist

Conference in December, 1908, not to vote for any partia or local educational grants, for these did not aim at "rea satisfaction of educational needs of the broad masses." Se "Resolutions on the Social Democratic Faction in th Duma" in *Direktivy po voprosam prosviesheniya* (Ogiz Moscow, 1931), p 20.

295. Liquidating the greater aspirations of the Social Democrati Party: resting with local reforms. See Article 5, *ibid.*, p. 21
296. *Ibid.*
297. Lenin, "Pamiati grafa Geidiena," *Works*, XII, 6f.
298. Hence the opposition of the Russian Socialist Party to th literary collaboration or participation of socialist writers i the liberal-democratic press. Literary collaboration ma create the impression of an ideological identification be tween the socialist and bourgeois intelligentsia See "Reso lution of the Social-Democratic Convention in Novembei 1907," in *Direktivi*, p. 19f.
299 Lenin, "Pamiati grafa Geidiena," *Works*, XII, 9.
300. Only the orthodox Marxists, Lenin implied, were the friend of the people. See his necrolog "August Bebel," *Works* XVI, 544-549.

Chapter Nine

301. Lenin, "O promischlennykh sudakh," *Works*, II, 562f.
302. Secretary of State Durnovo to Attorney General Pobiedono stzev, March 18, 1895, Letter No. 2603, "Very confidential.' "O tchon dumayut nashi ministry," *Works*, I, 419-21.
303 *Ibid.*, p. 419.
304. *Ibid.*, p. 420.
305. *Ibid.*, p 421.
306. In 1899, "Kapitalizm v sel'skom khoziaiztvie," *Works*, II 445; in 1902, "Zamieschaniya na vtoroi proyekt programm Plekhanova," *Works*, V, 33 and "Sluchainiye zamietki,' *Works*, IV, 96-99.
307. "K voprosu o politikie ministerstva narodnavo prosvieshen iya Dopolnieniya k voprosu o narodnom prosvieshenii,'

Works, XVI, 409-416.
This was written by Lenin as a projected speech in the Duma for A. R. Budayev, who read it in the Duma June 17, 1913 (cf. Stenographic Report of the Fourth Duma, Session I, Part III, pp. 695-700).

308. *Yezhegodnik Rossii,* ed. by the Ministry for Internal Affairs (St. Petersburg, 1911), pp. 211ff.
309. Lenin, "K voprosu o politikie ministerstve narodnavo prosviesheniya," *Works,* XVI, 412. And with reference to the status of teachers he wrote. "Russia's elementary school teachers are starving . . . and are hunted by the police and secret agents." Basing his information on primary sources (Official Reports of the Third Duma, Speeches of Klivjev), he cited cases of favoritism in appointing teachers unqualified for their positions and duty; wholesale dismissal, for political reasons only, of principals, school inspectors, and the like. He thus characterized the Ministry of Education: "Our Ministry for the education of the people is a ministry of political persecution and mockery of youth, a ministry for abusing the people's aspirations for knowledge." *Ibid.,* p. 416.
310. K. Dobroserdov, in *Nevskaya Zvezda,* May 22, 1912, cited *ibid.,* 59.
311. *Ibid.,* p. 415. The figures are Lenin's. The percentage of peasants and commoners to the general population in 1912 was eighty-eight per cent and noblemen one and one fourth per cent.
312. In the Vitmer gymnaziya in St. Petersburg.
313. Lenin, "Vozrastayusheye nescootvietstviye," *Works,* XVI, 323-326.
314. See *Sbornik program politicheskikh partii v Rossii* (2nd ed., Nasha Jiari, 1906).
315. *Polny sbornik platform vsiekh politicheskikh Russkikh partii* (St. Petersburg, 1907).
316. See Program of the Russian Constitutional Democratic Party, in *Sbornik program politicheskikh partii v Rossii* (1st ed. Nasha Jisn 1905), pp. 34-49.
317. See. Brokhaus and Efron, *Enziklopedicheski slovar* (St

Petersburg, 1907), add. vol. 2, pp. 787-790. The Trudoviki changed their program in 1917. See *Programma politicheskikh partii*, ed. S. S. Zack (Odessa, 1917).

318. See *Sbornik program politicheskikh partii o Rossii*, pp. 24-32; see also *Programmi politicheskikh partii*, pp. 22-32.
319. Lenin, "Kriticheskiya zamietki po nazional'nomu voprosu," *Works*, XVII, 137. Lenin's italics.
320. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
321. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
322. *Ibid.*, p. 143f.
323. Lenin, "Nazionalizatziya yevreiskoi shkoly," *Works*, XVI, 553f.
324. *Ibid.*, p. 533.
325. *Ibid.*, p. 554.
326. Lenin, "O Kulturno-nazional'noi avtonomii," *Works*, XVII, 92-95.
327. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
328. *Ibid.*, Lenin's italics.
329. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
330. Similar reasons against "national culture autonomy" were given later by Stalin. See Joseph Stalin, *Marksizm i nazional'no kolonialny vopros* (Moscow, 1934), p. 24.
331. Cf. Lenin, "Rezolutsii letnavo 1913 goda Soveshaniya C.C.R.S.D.R.P. s partinymi rabotnikami," *Works*, XVII, 12.
332. *Ibid.*
333. Lenin, "Nazionalny sostav uchenitshestva v russkoi shkolie," *Works*, XVII, 115.
334. Lenin, "Kriticheskiya zamietkii po nazional'nomu voprosu," *Works*, XVII, 152. The quotation is a part of Lenin's answer to M. Libman's article, "Novoye izdaniy staroi oshibki," in the Jewish Weekly, *Die Zeit*, for Oct. 30, 1913. From the above quotation, it seems that Lenin saw the possibility of the minority's church influence on the schools, if national cultural autonomy would be granted.
335. Lenin, "K voprosu o nazional'noi politikie," *Works*, XVII, 328.
336. Lenin, "Nuzhein li obyazatel'ny gosudarstvienny yazyk,"

Works, XVIII, 181. Lenin's italics.

337. *Ibid.*

338. *Ibid.*, Cf., only the "Purishkevichi are intent to prohibit the canine dialects spoken by nearly 60% of the non-Russian population" (*Ibid.*, p. 180).

339. Lenin, "Tiezisy po nazional'nomu voprosu," *Works,* XVI, 505-513; written in 1913.

340. *Ibid.*, p. 509f The same attitude toward the "national problem" was later taken by Stalin. See his *Marksism i natzional'no-kulturny vopros* (Partizdat, Moscow, 1937), pp. 43, 46-50, 58-72.

341. Lenin, "Tchto dielat'," *Works,* IV, 380.

341. See *Die deutsche Ideologie,* pp. 15ff.

343. Lenin, "Tcho dielat'," *Works,* IV, 380.

344. Marx to Bracke, May 5, 1875, *The Critique of the Gotha Programme,* pp. 62ff. Lenin gave his interpretation on Marx's well known statement in that letter: "a single step of the real movement is worth a dozen programmes." On this Lenin gave the following explanation: "If you must combine then enter into agreements to satisfy the practical aims of the movement, but do not haggle over principles, do not make 'concessions' in theory." "Tchto dielat'," *Works,* IV, 380.

345. *Ibid.,* p. 381. Cf. Engels, "Der deutsche Bauernkrieg" (Leipzig, 1873). Therein Engels refers to the strength of the German Socialistic movement because the German workers belong to the most theoretical nation in Europe.

346. Lenin, "Tshto dielat'," *Works,* IV, 380f. Lenin's italics.

347. *Ibid.,* p. 381.

348. Lenin, "Pis'mo sievernomu soyuzu," *Works,* V, 125.

Chapter Ten

349. The first convention of the party in 1898 resolved to call itself the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. In 1903, after the second convention in Brussels, the Bolshevik faction was first heard of in party circles. In 1918, the Bol-

sheviks separated from the R.C.D.L P. and formed the Russian Communist Party (b). In 1925, after the establishment of the U.S.S.R., the communist party changed its name to the All-Russian Community Party (b.), - V. C. P. (b.). See *Bol'shaya Sovietskaya Enziklopediya,* ed. N. I. Bukharin, *et al.* (Moscow, 1926-), XI, 9f.

350. Accepted at the party's second conference in Brussels, in 1903. Various sources show that this program did not undergo any changes. See *Sbornik program* (Nasha Jizn' 190b), pp. 24-32, A. I. Spiridovich, *Revolutzionnoye dvicheme v Rosii* (St. Petersburg, 1914), pp. 49-65; *Programmy politicheskikh partii,* ed S. S. Zack (Odessa, 1917), pp 22-32.

351 Lenin, "Materialy po peresmetru partinoi programmy," *Works,* XX, 303-306.

352 The inserted italics in a programme indicate that these words or sentences did not appear in the other programme and so stress the essential differences in the two programmes.

353. Engels, "Grundsatze des Kommunismus," *Gesamtausgabe,* vol 6, part 1, p. 515

Chapter Eleven

354. See his "Riech na III Vserossiskom syezdie Sovietov," *Works,* XXII, 225.

355. Lenin, "Uspiekhi i trudnosti Sovietskoi vlasti," *Works,* XXIV, 65.

356. Lenin, "Uspiekhi i trudnosti Sovietskoi vlasti," *Works,* XXIV, 68.

357. *Ibid.*

358. Lenin, "Riech' na II Vserossiskom syezdie rabotnikov mediko-sanitarnavo truda," *Works,* XXV, 46.

359. Lenin, "O znacheni voinstvuyushevo materializma," *Works,* XXII, 180-183. Lenin's italics.

360. See in the journal of that movement, *Vperiod,* Paris, July, 1910, pp. 2-8, the article by Maximov (A Bogdanov), "Proletariat v borbie za sotzialism." This movement was initiated by A. Bogdanov in 1909 in collaboration with A. Lunacharsky. According to Bogdanov the workers' class

could come to power not through a proletarian dictatorship but through the possession of an organized science, a special "Proletarian culture" (Proletcult) which should be the preliminary to a proletarian revolution. On this Trotzky was in agreement with Lenin," In what sense, comrades, did I speak against proletarian culture? . . . against the fact that some circles put up signs on their doors: 'In this little institution we produce proletarian culture?' No, one does not produce in such a simple manner a proletarian culture! . . . and what culture do you suppose we shall have in the future classless society? Proletarian? . . . No! It will be a socialist culture, because the proletariat, as distinct from the bourgeois, cannot and has no desire to remain the ruling class forever. . . ." Leon Trotzky, *Voprosy kulturnoi raboty* (Gosizdat, Moscow, 1924), pp. 67ff.

There were a number of differences between the Bagdonovtzy, which later became the group *Vperiod,* and the Leninists. These opposing groups came to clash on many occasions. Those noteworthy for education are the differences on the theory of "spontaniety," the group *Vperiod* believing in the spontaneous revolutionary outbreak of the masses without the necessary broad mass education as an essential step in preparing such revolution. Similarly this group even refused to cooperate with other Socialist groups having a legal existence in Russia. This group established separate schools for its own leaders, for instance, in Bologne, Northern Italy. Full details on the activity of this group, or programme of its school, qualifications and names of teachers, and so forth, one may gather from the reports of the "planted agents" to the Moscow Secret Police. *Dokumenty po istorii bol'shevizma s 1903 po 1916 god byvshego Moscovskago okhrannago otdielieniya,* ed. M. A. Tziavlovski (Moscow, 1918), pp. 21, 44ff. See especially the Document of the Moscow Department of Police, No. 119713 of December 20, 1910.

361. Lenin, "O proletarskoi culturie," *Works,* XXV, 409f.
362. Lenin, "Ocheredniya zadachii Sovietskoi vlasti," *Works,* XXII, 453f.

363. *Leninski Sbornik,* XIII, 64.
364. Lenin, "Doklad o dieyatelnosti na VIII Bserossiskom syezdie Sovietov," *Works,* XXVI, 46-50.
365. Lenin, "Vtoroi Vserossiski syezd politprosvietov," *Works,* XVII, 49.
366. Lenin, "Lutche men'she, da lutche," *Works,* XXVII, 407.
367. Lenin, "Ot pervavo subbotnika na Moskovsko-Kazanskoi zhelieznoi dorogie ko vserossiskomu subbotniku-mayevkie," *Works,* XXV, 255f. Lenin exemplified the "Subbotniki," volunteer workers who worked on free Saturdays and overtime on other days gratis in Socialist and state enterprises.
368. Lenin, "Ot obmana naroda lozungami svobody i ravenstva," *Works,* XX IV, 307.
369. Lenin, "Riech na Vserossiskom Sovieshanii politprosvietov," *Works,* XXV, 448f.
370. *Ibid.,* p. 449f.
371. *Ibid.,* p. 430f.
372. Lenin, "Kak organizovat' sorevnovaniye," *Works,* XXIV, 158-161. In the same work, Lenin minimized the educational value of competition in capitalist society for the reason that the individual product of competition is absorbed by the larger corporation
373. Lenin, "Priyom v vishiye uchebniye zavedeniya RSFSR," *Works,* XXI, 221. The decree of Aug. 2, 1918 authorized the admission to universities of all above 16 years of age, gratis and without secondary school diplomas (Prot. CNK, No. 170: Arch. IMEL, No. 11770); *Sobraniye Uzakonenі,* No. 57, Aug. 7, 1918.
374. *Leninski Sbornik,* XIII, 64. Cf. Lenin's program (14: 1917), p. 133, *supra.*
375. *Leninski Sbornik,* XIII, 80. This is in clear distinction from the program of 1903 which demanded professional education for children and that of 1917 which lacked the demand for professional education altogether. See (14: 1903, 1917), p. 133, *supra.* Lenin's final distinction between general polytechnic and professional education will be shown later in this chapter in the section on General and Polytechnic education.

376. *Ibid*, p. 63f.
377. The text of the two drafts, one projected by Lenin in 1919 and the final draft of the programme of the Communist party ratified at its Eighth Congress in Moscow, March 18-23, 1919 is taken from *Leninski Sbornik,* XIII, 63-65, 80, and Samuel N. Harper's translation in Wm. E. Rappard, *et al, Source Book in Foreign Governments* (New York, 1937), pp. V7-V33. Lenin's draft will be designated here as L 1919 and that of the party as P 1919.
378. Lenin, "Riech na III Vserossiiskom syezdie sovietov," *Works,* XXII, 225
379. See p. 185, *infra.*
380. See diagram of the System of Education in RSFSR, p. 186, *infra.*
381. See p. 53f., *supra,* and cf. p. 186, *infra.*
382. Lenin, "O politekhnitcheskom obrazovanii. Zamietki na tezisy Najejdy Konstantinovny," *Works,* XXX, 418-420. Lunarcharsky, Kommissar of Education seemingly did not see such difficulties. In the same year, in 1920, he stated that beginning with the age of 13 "labor may become not only a base for knowledge but also an objective in itself." He believed, therefore, that at this age pupils should learn the fundamental processes of production. A. Lunacharsky, *Problemy narodnavo obrazovaniya* (Rabotnik prosvieshen-iya, Moscow, 1923), p. 152.
383. In 1921, Lenin made the clear distinction between general-polytechnic and professional-polytechnic education. The former was to be provided, according to the communist program, up to the age of 17; and the latter, beyond that age. "O rabotie Narcomprosa," *Works,* XXVI, 161.
384. "O politekhnicheskom obrazovanii," *Works,* XXX, 418. Cf. pp. 53ff., *supra.*
385. *Ibid.,* p. 418.
386. *Ibid.,* p. 419. Lenin's subsequent correction: "To amalgamate not the whole second division but from 13, 14 years of age at the instruction and decision of the pedagogs." Lenin enumerated some subjects for general education. "communism, general history, history of revolutions, history

of the revolution of 1917, geography, literature, etc." For polytechnic education, Lenin recommended that in cooperation with the State Commission on Russia's Electrification, the pupils should visit for lectures and practical work the nearest electric stations and collectives, he advised the construction of museums for polytechnical education, trains, boats, and the like.

387. *Ibid.*, p. 419. Lenin's italics.

388. "Direktivy C. C kommunistam-rabotnikam Narcomprossa," *Works,* XXVI, 157. The same reason was given by Lenin in the same year in another work, "O rabotie Narkomprosa," *ibid.,* p. 161.

389. See p. 186.

390 In Leninist terms, practice called for clear-cut theory. The object of the latter was to improve practice and thus give rise to better theory. This theory was to be applied to practice, an endless process.

391. Lenin, "O politekhnicheskom obrazovanii," *Works,* XXX, 419.

392. Lenin, "O rabotie Narcomprosa," *Works,* XXVI, 161. Probably as a result of a "revaluation" Lunacharsky in 1923 conceded that the Narcompros was forced to change the "polytechnic" policy in some respects. They were: lack of teachers; difficulty of preparing such teachers; the impossibility of reeducating old teachers for the polytechnic task; the difficulty of providing workshops for the schools; and the like. A. Lunacharsky, *Problemy narodnavo obrazovaniya,* p. 174.

393. N. K. Krupskaya, *Na puteakh k novoi shkolie,* No. 9, 1923, reprinted in *Sovietskaya proisvodstvenno-trudovaya shkola,* ed. A. Kalashnikov (Moscow, 1926), p. 103. One must remember, however, that such a comprehensive educational provision had never been considered by Lenin. In fact, on many occasions, Lenin accused the Narcompros of Utopian scheming and of the inconsistency of its theorizing with the practical problems of the State Lenin, "O rabotie Narcomprose," *Works,* XXVI, 161-3

394. *Sovetiskaya proizvodstvenno . . .*, p. 103.
395. *Ibid.*

Chapter Twelve

396. See S. M. Freedamn, *Voprosy Marksistskoi pedagogiki* (Rabotnik prosoviesteniyo, Moscow, 1929); p. 51; for Shul'gin's philosophy of the Soviet school see his *Osnovniyey voprosi sozial'novo vospitonia* (Rabotnik prosvieshenia, Moscow, 1925).
397. "O shkolie," *Na puteakh k novoi shkolie,* No. 3, 1931, p. 37. "As the State, so the school is an historical category; the school appeared at a period when the class-dominating State was established and it carries all the characteristic features of the latter."
398. Accordingly, Shul'gin also depreciated the role of the teacher, the "Uncle with a bauble." This seems, however, to contradict Lenin: "The people's teacher should be placed in such esteem as he is not, has never been, and will not be in bourgeois society. This is a truth which requires no proof." Lenin, "Stranichki iz dnevnika," *Works,* XXVII, 389.
399. V. N. Shul'gin, in *Narodnoye Prosviesheniye,* 1925, Nos. 10-11, p. 126, quoted in A. J. Kalashnikov, *Ocherki marksistkoi pedagogiki* (Moscow, 1929), I, 367.
400. See *Sporniye voprosy markisistskoi pedagogiki,* Stenographic report of the plenary meeting of the Marcompros, Dec. 12, 1928 (Moscow, 1929), *passim.* Disagreement with Shul'gin's theory was expressed by Kalashnikov, Krupskaya, Shatzky, and others.
401. Adopted with slight changes from S. M. Freedman, *Voprosy marksistskoi pedagogiki* (Moscow, 1929), p. 58.
402. *Voprosy Marksistskoi pedagogiki,* p. 18.
403. In this, Freedman followed A. Deborin, *Dialectika yestiestvoznaniya* (Giz, 1929), p. 33.
404. Kalashnikov, *Ocherki marksistskoi pedagogiki,* I, *passim.*

405. Adopted, with slight changes, from Kalashnikov, *Ocherki marksistskoi pedagogiki* (Moscow, 1929), I, 364.
406. Kalashnikov, *Ocherki marksistskoi pedagogiki*, I, 356.
407. *Ibid.*, p. 357.
408. *Ibid.*, p. 358.
409. Based on A. Y. Kalashnikov, *Ocherki Marxistkoi pedagogiki*, (Moscow, 1929), I, 162.
410. *Ibid.*, p. 359.
411. *Ibid.*

Chapter Thirteen

412. *Shkola-Kommuna Narkomprosa*, ed. M. M. Pistrak, (Rabotnik prosvieschenіya, Moscow, 1929), p. 80.
413. *Ibid.*
414. *Ibid.*
415. N K. Krupskaya, *Problemy narodnavo obrazovoniya*, (izdatel'stvo Kommunisticheskoi akademii, Moscow, 1928), p. 5.
416. *Ibid.*
417. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-10.
418. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
419. *Ibid.*
420. *Ibid.*
421. *Ibid.*
422. S. Shatzki, *Voprosy proletarskoi pedagogiki*, ed. A. Pinkevich (Moscow, 1929), p. 173.
423. *Ibid.*, p. 370. Shul'gin defined the polytechnic school as "that school which educates a child who knows and can work in agriculture as well as in factory—industrial production; as Engels said, that today they work here, and tomorrow, there." *Spornіye voprosy marksistskoi pedagogiki*, p. 15.
424. *Ocherki marksistskoi pedagogiki*, p. 370.
425. *Spornіye voprosy marksistskoi pedagogiki*, p. 15.
426. *Ibid.*, p. 14f.
427 *Ibid.*, *passim; Ocherki Marksistskoi pedagogiki*, p. 370f.
428. See *Sporniye voprosy marksistkoi pedagogiki, passim.*
429. *Ocherі Marksistskoi pedagogiki*, p. 370f.
430. *Ibid.*, p. 371.

431. A. Vaganian, *O sistemie narodnavo obrazovoniya* (Rabotnik Prosviesheniya, Moscow, 1930), p. 115. In his introduction the author claimed his book to be "an attempt to give a consistent Marxian materialistic answer on the questions under discussion." (p. 3).
432. *Ibid.*
433. *Ibid.*, p. 118. Here Vaganian attacked the Soviet Professor of education, M. M. Pistrak, whose position on polytechnism was probably similar to his, but who nevertheless opposed Vagainian's thesis of pay or remuneration for children's labor in the polytechnic school. See M. Pistrak, *Ocherki politekhnicheskoi Shkoly,* (Rabotnik Prosviesheniya, Moscow, 1929), *passim.*
434. *Ibid.*, p. 128. Undoubtedly in this the Soviet educators were influenced by Marx, but Marx's recommendation for a fair wage for the child-laborer related, as already pointed out at another place of this work, to his time under the capitalist order. See Marx, *Instruktzii delegatam,* p 198.
435. The *Rabfacs* are the workers facultics attached to the university and the *FZU* are the Factory Workshop Schools. The latter are to be distinguished from the *FZS,* the Factory Workshop Seven Years Schools. The former, the *FZU* aimed at the preparation of qualified intelligent skilled laborers, ie.e., these schools were professional trade schools. The *FZS* were a part of the Unified Labour School aiming at the acquaintance of pupils with all branches of production, i.e., they were polytechnic schools. See *Ibid.*, pp. 133-37, and M. Pistrak, *K politckhnicheskoi shkolie,* (Moscow, 1931), p. 47. The F.Z.U. became important during the last war.
436. A. Vaganian, *O sistemie narodnavo obrazovaniya,* (Rabotnik prosviesheniya, Moscow, 1930), p. 142.
437. L. Trotsky, *The Permanent Revolution,* trans. Max Schactman (New York, 1931).
438. *Za realizatziyu postanovlieniya CCVKP (b) a shkolie* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1931), p. 30.
439. *Izviestiya,* October 28, 1931, No. 298. Samples of these contracts are given in *Za vypolneniya postanovlenii CCVKP*

(b) o natchal'noi i srednei shkolie, Narcompros RSFSR, (Moscow-Leningrad, 1931) pp. 83-93.

440. H. Konoplev, *Besedy o politekhnizmie.* (Ogiz, Moscow, 1931), p. 54.
441. *Ibid*, pp. 45 and 55.
442. *Ibid.*
443. *Za realizatziyu postaanovleniya CEVKP (b) o shkolie* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1931).
444. *Narodnoye obrazovniye v SSSR, (Utchpedgiz,* Moscow, 1932), pp. 24-25.
445. *Reshenıye CCVKP (b) o shkolie - v deistvii* (Penza, 1931), p. 46. The conference took place between January 23 and February 2, 1931.
446. *Ibid*, pp. 7ff, and 54.
447. F. Merkur'yev, *K organizatzii i metodikie trudovovo politekhnicheskavo obutcheniya v natchal'noi i srednei shkolie,* Novosibirsqk, 1933), pp. 3, 4.
448. B. Nikol'ski, *Berezovskaya obraztzovaya shkola,* (Novosibirsk, 1934), p. 67.
449. *Ibid.*
450. *Ibid.*
451. Blonsky, *Pedology* (*c.* 1936), p. 11, quoted in *Izviestiya,* Vipusk III, Irkutski Gosudarstvenny Pedagogicheski Institut (Ogiz, Irkutsk, 1937), p. 4. According to Blonsky, "heredity (biological factor) and conditions of life (social factor)—those two interactive factors condition the child's development." (*Ibid.,* p. 6). This was, according to Voskresenski, adopted from the bourgeois psychology without criticism as a "recent achievement of Marxian science."
452. Quoted *ibid.,* p. 4.
453. *Ibid.*
454 *Ibid*
455. *Ibid.,* p. 5.
456. See, for instance, *Pedagogicheskoye obrazovaniye* (Narkompros R.S F.S.R, 1936), VI, 1-76. These pages include articles against pedology by Prof. P N Shimbirev, I. V. Chuvashefl, N. A. Konstantinov and the People's Commissar for education of R.S F.S R., A. S. Subnov.

457. The Decree of TZIK of U.S.S.R. of July 4, 1936, "On the pedological distortion in the system of the Narkomprosov" quoted in *Izviestiya,* Vipusk III, Irkutski Gosudarstvenny Pedagogicheski Institut, p. 5.
458. *Istoriya pedagogiki,* p. 101.
459. *Ibid.,* p. 321.
460. *Ibid.,* pp. 323, 324.
461. *Ibid.,* p. 323.
462. *Ibid.,* p. 324.
463. *Izviestiya,* Vipusk III, Irkutski Gosudarstvenny Pedagogicheski Institut, p. 13.

Chapter Fourteen

464. Joseph Stalin, *Problemy Leninizma* (Moscow, 1935), p. 485.
465. Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* tr. by N. I. Stone (New York, 1904), p. 11f. According to Lenin the law is "the expression of the will of the classes which had won the victory and kept the governmental power in their heads," *Works,* XI, 418.
466. V. Gsovsky attempted to show how the Soviet law was aimed at the withering away of the law. For this he found support in the Soviet jurists Stushka, Goichborg, and Pashkanis. Gsovsky quoted, for instance, from the letter's work, *Obshchaya theoriya prava i marksizm"* (Lenigrad, 1932), p. 104. "Ethics, law and state, are the forms of bourgeois society. If the proletariat is forced to use them it does not mean that there is a possibility of a further development of these forms by way of fitting them with a socialist content. They are not apt to embrace this content and shall wither away step by step with the realization of socialism." V. Gsovsky, "The Soviet Concept of the Law," *Fordham Law Review,* January, 1938, VII, 12.
467. The decrees which follow are cited, unless indicated otherwise, from the following sources: *Sobranie uzakanenii i rasporiazhenii raboche-Krestiakskago pravitel'stva R.S.F.S.R.*

(Moscow, 1918-19); *Sistematicheskoe Sobranie zakonov R.S.F.S.R.* (Moscow, 1929) All such decrees are listed later as S.U., year and number.

468 S U., 1918, No. 39, art. 507.

469. *Sbornik dekretov po narodnomu obrazovaniyu,* 1 ed (Laws Oct 28, 1917-Nov. 7, 1918), pp. 107-112.

470. S U. 1922, No. 43, S.U. 1923, No. 73, S.U. 1924, No. 2, S.U. 1924, No. 19; S.U. 1925, No. 56; S.U. 1926, No. 18; S.U. 1928, No 1.
In addition, the Central Committee of the Party and the Sovnarkom have decreed the establishment of the Communist University for the National Minorities of the West (S U. 1921, No. 67), the Communist University for the Toilers of the East (S.U. 1921, No. 36), and five district Communist Universities (S U. 1923, No. 25).

471 After N. K Krupskaya, *Na puteak k novoi Shkolie,* No 9, 1923 in *Sovietsnaya proizvadstvenna trudovaya Shkola,* (Moscow, 1926).

472. *Direktoy V K.P. po voprosam prosvesheniya* (M.-L., Ogiz, 1931), 356.

473. S U. 1925, No. 69, S U. 1926, No 90, S U 1927, No. 39; S.U. 1927, No. 61.

474 S.U. 1925, No. 69.

475. S.U 1926, No. 90.

476. S.U. 1927, No. 39.

477. S.U. 1927, No. 61.

478. For various reasons, tuition, in 1927, was still obligatory for many in the soviet educational institutions. The following were offering instruction gratis: the School of the First Division, *reches,* schools for peasant youth, lower professional schools, the Soviet Party pedagogical technikums (S.U. 1927, No. 13)

479. S.U. 1920, No. 69.

480. S U. 1923, No. 72.

481. S U. 1924, No. 39.

482 S.U. 1927, No. 21.

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484. *Ibid.*, p. 236f.
485. *Ibid*, p. 237.
486. State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R., *The Second Five-Year Plan* (New York, 1937), p. 23
487. S.U. 1925, No. 69.
488. See *Direktivy V.K.P. (b) no voprosam prosvieshenıya,* pp. 13, 117, 126, 346, 349, 358-363.
489. *The Second Five-Year Plan,* p. 23.
490. Art. 9, *ibid.*, p. 49.
491. *Ibid.*, p. 48f.
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493. *Ibid.*, p. 126.
494. *Ibid.*
495. *Ibid.*, p. 191.
496. *Za vypolnenıya postanovlenıi TZIK'a U.S.S.R. o nachal'noi ı srednei shkole* (Narcompros R.S.F.S.R., Moscow, 1931), p. 10
497. *Ibid.*
498. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
499. *Za Vypolnenia,* p. 12. There is no English equivalent for the Russian term; *erziehensch* most nearly expresses its meaning.
500 Decree No. 393, *Sbornik prikazov i rasporiazhenii po Narkomprosu R.S.F.S.R.*, April 1, 1937, No. 7.
501. Decree No. 393, *ibid.*
502. Decree No. 206, *Sbornik prikazov,* March 15, 1937, No. 6.
503. Decree No. 911, *Sbornik prikazov,* April 1, 1937, No. 7.
504. Decree No. 911, *ibid.*
505. Decree No. 1962, *Sbornik prikazov,* September 1, 1937, No. 17.
506. Decree No. 1962, *ibid.*
507. Items 316-318, *Sbornik prikazov,* September 15, 1937, pp 8-16.
508. Decree No. 1000, *Sbornik prikazov,* Nos. 11-12, 1939.
509. E. N. Medynski, *Istoriya pedagogiki,* p. 276.

510. Various sources were used for this discussion: various Russian editions of the several constitutions, the editions of the International Publishers; Anna Louise Strong, *The New Soviet Constitution* (New York, *c.* 1937); Walter Russell Batsell, *Soviet Rule in Russia* (New York, 1929); W. E. Rappard *et al, Source Book on European Governments*, pp. V63-V129.

The first Soviet Constitution of July, 1918, passed by the Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets and ratified as the Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R. by the Twelfth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, May 11, 1925, is designated here as The First Constitution. The Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was ratified at the Second Congress of Soviets of the Union on January 31, 1924, and followed by various amendments, is designated here as the Second Constitution. This constitution was altered and as such adopted by the Soviet Congress on December 5, 1936, and is designated here as the Third Constitution.

511. Art. 17, Ch. V (Batsell, *Soviet Rule in Russia*, p. 85); art. 43, ch. VIII provides for a commissariat of education.

512. See Batsell, *Soviet Rule in Russia*, Ch. II; see also articles 64 and 65 of Ch. III of Constitution I, treating o fthe limitation of electoral rights particularly confined to the same classes as in education. On the educational clause of this Constitution A. L. Strong said: "The Constitution of 1918 did not guarantee the right to education but set for itself the task of providing for the workers and poorer peasants a complete, universal and free education'." *The New Soviet Constitution*, p. 167.

513. Art. I (q), *The Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics* (Soviet Union Information Bureau, Washington, D.C., 1929), p. 10.

514. Art. 67. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

515. See art. 20, 26 of Ch. IV; art. 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, Ch. V, *ibid.*, pp. 14-17; see also Batsell, *Soviet Rule in Russia*, Ch. V.

516. Art. 14 (q), Ch. II, *Constitution of the U.S.S.R.* (International Publishers, New York, 1937), p. 13. For the definition of highest organs of power see Ch. III, *ibid.*

517. Art. 121, Ch. X, *ibid.*, 42.
518. See Ch. I, *ibid.*
519. The Third Constitution was adopted by the Soviet Congress on December, 1936. The decree abolishing the agricultural economies at the village-schools passed July, 1936, although published in April, 1937. The decree abolishing work-shops at the city schools passed March 4, 1937 and published in April, 1937. The decree reorganizing the Polytechnic Institute passed Aug. 3, 1937 and published September 15, 1937.
520. Ch. I, Constitution of the U.S.S.R.
521. *The Fulfillment of the First Five-Year Plan, Official Report of the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R.* (Moscow, 1933), p. 238.

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524. *Ibid.,* p. 206.
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530. "Sovietskaya musika v gody voiny," *Sovietskaya musyka,* 1946, I, 9, 11-12.
531. B. Bogdanov-Berezovski, "Kompozitory osazhdennavo Leningrada," *Ibid.,* pp. 13-22.

532. G. Khubov, "V dni surovykh ispytanii," *Ibid.*, pp. 23-30.

533. *Sbornik informatzionnykh materialov academi pedagogicheskikh nauk RSFSR,* 1945, ii, 2-8.

534. A. M. Leushina, "Bor'ba za sdorov'ye detei v gorodie-frontie," *Doshkol'noye vospitaniye,* 1943, xi-xii.

535. N. A. Menshinskaya, "Dieti-doshkol'niki i otiechestvennaya voina," *ibid.,* 1943, ii, 14-20.

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541. *Ibid.;* see also, S. Ivanov, "Separate Education for Soviet Boys and Girls," *Voks,* Nov.-Dec., 1945, pp. 22-25.

542. A. G. Kalashnikov, *Narodnnoye Obrazovaniye,* 1946, i-ii, 23. 23.

543. Quoted in S. Ivanov, "Separate Education for Soviet Boys and Girls," *op. cit.*

544. *Ibid.;* see also editorial: "Nash Narcom," in *Narodnoye obrazovaniye,* iii,iv, 1946, p. 11, to wit: "The experience of separate education (in the Oblast' and Krai Centers) has confirmed the timeliness and practicability of this measure. the course of the educational process has improved; physical education and military training can be fitted to different psychosomatic characteristics of the boys and girls. The problem of boys' and girls' preparation for labor can be solved in a better way."

545. A. G. Kalashnikov, *op. cit.*

546. Cf. *Sobraniye postanovlenii i rasporiazhenii pravitel'stva rossiskoi sovietskoi federativnoi sotzialisticheskoi respubliki,* 1943-44, items 48, 41, 30, 9, 24, 25.

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547. A. G. Kalashnikov, *Narodnoye obrazovaniye,* 1946, vii, pp. 8-13. The Germans were especially systematic in destroying nationally reknowned schools which had to be rebuilt completely. See the decree of August 19, 1945 on the reconstruction of the *Yasnaya Poliana* secondary school in *Sbornik informatziounykh materialov academi pedagogicheskikh nauk RSFSR,* 1945, ii, 2. A detailed account of German pillage, and destruction of educational institutions in various localities can be found in V. M. Buzirev, *Vosstanovitel'niye raboty i ikh finansirovaniye,* Moscow, 1945, pp. 9f., 13, 117f. The Germans have destroyed in the occupied parts of the Soviet 1,710 cities, 70,000 villages and 6,000,000 buildings.
548. *Nachal'naya shkola,* 1946, 10-11.
549. *Ibid.*
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552. *Ibid.*
553. A. G. Kalashnikov, *Narodnoye obrazovaniye, op. cit.*
554. G. Sorokin, *Stalinskiye piatilietniye plany,* Moscow, 1946, pp. 10, 17, 25, 26, 34, 44.
555. *Ibid.*
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557. *Utchel'skaya gazeta,* April 3, 1946, no. 17.
558. C. Kaftanov, "Patrioticheski dolg sovetiskovo studenchestva," *Sovietskoye studenchestvo,* 1946, i, 5.
559. S. V. Kagomanol, "Zabota o studenchestve," *Sovietskoye Studenchestvo,* 1946, iv-v.
560. V. A. Kaprinski, *Obshestvennoye i gosudarstvennoye ustroistvo SSSR,* Moscow, 1936, pp. 61-2.
561. N. A. Petrov, "V. I. Lenin o vospitanii," *Sovietskaya pedagogika,* 1946, i-ii, 4-8. The author expounds this theory as hostile to socialism, and warns against the dangers of smuggling into Soviet education similar hostile ideologies in the future.

562. See, for instance, the editorial: "K diesialietiyu postanovlieniya CKVP (c) o pedologicheskikh izvrashcniyakh," *Natchal'naya shkola,* 1946, vi, 1-3.
563. *Ibid.*
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566. M. I. Mel'nikov, "Bor'ba za prepodovaniye darvinizma v srednei shkolie," *Isvestiya academi pedagogicheskikh mayk RSRSR,* 1946, iv; see also A. A. Paramonov, *Kurs Darvinizma,* Moscow, 1945, p. 423.
567. *Uchetel'skaya gazeta,* no. 37, August 3, 1946.

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568. See *supra,* pp. 146ff.
569. N. A. Petrov, "V. I. Lenin o vospitani," *op. cit.*
570. N. K. Goncharov, "O Soderzhani obrazovaniya," *Sovietskaya pedagogika,* 1946, iii, 7.
571. N. K. Goncharov, "Riech V. I. Lenina na s'yezde komsomola - vazhneishi istochnik pedagogiki," *Sovietskaya pedagogika,* 1945, x, pp. 35f.
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584. M. N. Skadkin, *op. cit., p.* 53.
585. *Ibid.*
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590. A. G. Kalashnikov, "O zadachakh shkoly v 1946-47 uchebnom godu," *Sovietskoya pedagogika,* 1946, x-xi. Generally, Soviet literature is abundant with such statements, especially since the victorious end of the Great Patriotic War.
591. "Predmet i metod pedagogiki," *Sovietskaya pedagogika,* 1946, i-ii, 13.
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